3 1761 03529 1491

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

AGED 17

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

WITH

ANECDOTES OF THE COURT OF HENRY II.

DURING HER RESIDENCE IN FRANCE.

BY MISS BENGER,

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF ANN BOLEYN," &C.

FROM THE SECOND LONDON EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

A. HART, LATE CAREY & HART,

126 CHESTNUT STREET.

1852.

279845
14 11 32

DA
787
A1B4
1852
v.1

Printed by T. K. & P. G. Collins.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the following pages it has been attempted to supply those details of Mary's life, during her residence in France, which other biographers have passed over in silence. Where materials for this were wanting, the Author conceived it might not be unacceptable to offer a sketch of the habits and opinions prevailing in that circle in which her mind and manners were formed, and which, at a later period, continued to influence her conduct and character. In executing this part of her task, she derived considerable assistance from that voluminous

collection of original memoirs* which enriches French literature; in particular, from the Mémoires de François Scepeaux, Sire de Vieilleville, and those of Michel de Castelnau, who both flourished under Henry the Second. The narrative of Castelnau has been illustrated by the Supplement of Laboureur (the indefatigable historiographer of Louis the Thirteenth), which is in itself a treasure of information no less rare than precious.

To these standard works were added many others almost equally important, and which are recommended by Anquetil, in his Esprit de la Ligue.

In tracing the destiny of Mary after she quitted France, the Author consulted almost every annalist and biographer, by whom her character has been illustrated, from Lesley to Udal, from Crawford to Chalmers; but her chief guide has been Keith, that unexceptionable historian, to whom Hume and Robertson, Goodall and Laing, have equally offered homage.

In perusing Keith, she was led to the various col-

* Collection Universelle de Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France, of which there are seventy-two volumes.

lections of state papers to which he constantly refers; nor did she neglect to avail herself of those important elucidations and additions which, in his compendious Life of Mary, have been lately afforded by the unequalled and successful researches of Mr. Chalmers.

By the liberality of the Duke of Argyle, she has been permitted to introduce into the present work four original letters of Mary, addressed to Colin, Earl of Argyle, which have not hitherto been published.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

SKETCHES OF SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND IN THE AGE OF JAMES THE FOURTH.—JOURNEY OF MARGARET, DAUGHTER OF HENRY THE SEVENTH, TO SCOTLAND.—MINORITY OF JAMES THE FIFTH.—MARRIAGE WITH MARY OF LORRAIN.—FACTIONS IN SCOTLAND.—INTRIGUES OF CARDINAL BEATON.—PITSCOTTIE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE DEATH OF JAMES THE FIFTH.—ENGLISH AND FRENCH PARTIES.—THE EARL OF ARRAN.—THE EARL OF LENNOX.—THE CORONATION OF MARY STUART.—CHARACTER OF MARY OF GUISE.—MARRIAGE TREATY WITH THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE . 17

CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YOUNG QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.—THE FOUR MARIES.—EMBARKATION.—ESSE, STROZZI, VILLEGAGNON.—REMARKS ON THE COMPARATIVE MORALS OF THE FRENCH COURT.—THE FRENCH COMPARED WITH OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS.—CHARACTER OF DIANA DE POITIERS.—OF THE CONSTABLE MONTMORENCY.—OF THE COLIGNYS.—LIBERAL OPINIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT.—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO THE KING AGAINST THE OMNIPOTENCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS . 51

CHAPTER III.

RECEPTION OF MARY IN FRANCE.—SKETCHES OF THE COURT.—MARRIAGE OF ANTHONY BOURBON AND JANE OF NAVARRE.—CHARACTER OF ANNE OF ESTE.—SPLENDID NUPTIALS WITH FRANCIS OF LORRAIN.—CORONATION OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS.—PUBLIC ENTRY OF HENRY INTO PARIS.—PUBLIC ENTRY OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS.—NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF ROYAL PERSONAGES IN THE PROCESSION.—SKETCHES OF THE THREE COLIGNYS.—THE AUTO-DA-FÉ.—APPLAUDED BY THE PEOPLE 97

CHAPTER IV.

MARY'S EDUCATION.—ASSISTANCE DERIVED FROM CARDINAL LORRAIN.—ARRIVAL OF HER MOTHER.—ELABORATE DISCOURSE PRONOUNCED BY MARY.—CURIOUS ANECDOTE OF CATHERINE AND THE DUCHESS DE VALENTINOIS.—GENEROSITY OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.—MARY'S EDUCATION RESUMED.—LEARNED WOMEN.—POETS.—PHILOSOPHERS.—THE ASTROLOGER NOSTRADAMUS.—PAUCITY OF ANECDOTES RESPECTING MARY.—ANECDOTES OF THE FRENCH COURT.—ANECDOTES OF THE DUKE OF NEMOURS AND FRANCIS DE ROHAN.—ORIGIN OF THE EDICT AGAINST CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES.—JANE HALLUIN AND FRANCIS DE MONTMORENCY . 136

CHAPTER V.

ABORTIVE EFFORTS OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS TO PREVENT THE FULFILMENT OF THE MARRIAGE TREATY BETWEEN THE QUEEN OF SCOTS AND THE DAUPHIN.—POPULARITY OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.—ARTIFICES OF CARDINAL LORRAIN.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE ESPOUSALS OF FRANCIS AND MARY.—DESCRIPTION OF THE NUPTIAL FESTIVITIES, TAKEN FROM AN OLD FRENCH CHRONICLE.—RAPID PROGRESS OF THE CALVINISTS.—THE ATTRACTION OF MAROT'S PSALMODY.—SKETCHES OF THE FEMALE CALVINISTIC LEADERS.—JANE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE.—THE DAME DE LA ROYE.—THE PRINCESS OF CONDE.—THE WIFE OF ADMIRAL COLIGNY.—

MADAME D'ANDELOT.—MAGNANIMOUS TRAIT OF ANDELOT.—DISSENSIONS IN THE COURT.—DOMESTIC HABITS OF MARY AND FRANCIS.—HER ILL HEALTH.—HER ASSUMPTION OF THE ARMS OF ENGLAND.—HER INQUIETUDE RESPECTING THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.—MARRIAGES OF ELIZABETH OF FRANCE AND THE PRINCESS MARGARET, WITH PHILIP OF SPAIN AND PHILIBERT OF SAVOY.—ANNE DU BOURG.—HIS TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ROYAL NUPTIALS.—THE TOURNAMENT.—THE DEATH OF HENRY THE SECOND.—EXECUTION OF ANNE DU BOURG 201

CHAPTER VI.

JOY OF FRANCIS THE SECOND ON HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN.—UNFORTUNATE EFFECTS OF MARY'S INFLUENCE OVER HIM.—TRAIT OF CATHERINE'S ADDRESS.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN FRANCIS AND MONTMORENCY.—PAINFUL SITUATION OF MARY.—OBJECT OF CATHERINE'S JEALOUSY.—DIMINUTION OF THE COURT.—ITS REMOVAL TO BLOIS.—ALARM FROM THE CONSPIRACY OF JEAN RENAUDIE.—PRECIPITATE RETREAT OF THE KING AND TWO QUEENS TO AMBOISE.—SUSPICION AND DETENTION OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE.—ARREST OF CASTELNAU.—HIS NOBLE REPLY TO THE CHANCELLOR OLIVIER.—ANGUISH OF ANNE OF ESTE AT THE EXECUTION OF CASTELNAU.—DEATH OF OLIVIER.—COUNCIL OF FONTAINEBLEAU.—MONTLUC STATES.—NEW INTRIGUES.—CONVOCATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL AT ORLEANS.—THE KING'S ILLNESS.—DEATH.—IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES TO MARY STUART 274

ADDITIONAL NOTES 321

MEMOIRS

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

SKETCHES OF SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND IN THE AGE OF JAMES THE FOURTH.—JOURNEY OF MARGARET, DAUGHTER OF HENRY THE SEVENTH, TO SCOTLAND.—MINORITY OF JAMES THE FIFTH.—MARRIAGE WITH MARY OF LORRAIN.—FACTIONS IN SCOTLAND.—INTRIGUES OF CARDINAL BEATON.—PITSCOTTIE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE DEATH OF JAMES THE FIFTH.—ENGLISH AND FRENCH PARTIES.—THE EARL OF ARRAN.—THE EARL OF LENNOX.—THE CORONATION OF MARY STUART.—CHARACTER OF MARY OF GUISE.—MARRIAGE TREATY WITH THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE.

In reviewing the history of Mary Stuart, it is necessary to cast a cursory glance over the state of Scotland under her ancestors, whose annals supply copious examples of the perils and infelicities annexed to the possession of a regal sceptre. In other countries, the military circumvallations of the feudal system had gradually introduced the rudiments of order and government; but in this kingdom, where the monarch had to

contend with nobles not less ferocious, scarcely more enlightened, than the vassals over whom they exercised despotic sway, those reciprocal obligations were inadequate to maintain public tranquillity, and personal feuds and domestic factions, like the quarrels of Arab chiefs, descended from father to son, entailing strife and wretchedness on their remote posterity. In France and England, the baronial mansion was often the asylum of indigent scholars, or expatriated poets and artists, whose influence insensibly communicated to their haughty patrons the rudiments of knowledge, literature, and taste. But in Scotland, the moated castle was in general occupied by illiterate masters, who listened but to the legends of empirical priests, better calculated to pervert the feelings than to inform the understanding of their votaries. Even in rich and flourishing towns, the vestiges of the middle ages were still perceptible. Relics and miracles were universally popular; ritual forms and ceremonies usurped the place of moral and religious duties; and whilst the dignitaries of the church openly violated the vows to which they owed their enormous power, the inferior clergy appear to have sought only to perpetuate the ignorance and submission of the people. Hordes of banditti ravaged the country, all of whom, from the gipsies of the forest to the mosstrooper of the border,* lived in avowed contempt of the laws and in haughty

* The reader will recollect the spirited and interesting account

independence of the sovereign: even during this stormy season, the native genius of Scotland often broke forth; but her scholars, her poets, and her soldiers, had to seek, in more genial regions, the favour and protection denied them by their ungrateful, or rather distracted, country.

Nor was Scotland without her patriots and heroes, whose character, as it must have been formed, should be measured, by the existing standard of civilization. Even then she had champions who gloried in contemning the power, and in resenting the insults of their *Southron* foes; high-spirited chiefs, who placed honour and integrity in preserving unaltered the institutions of their forefathers, and who consequently resisted, with pernicious zeal, every deviation that threatened innovation or promised improvement. Buchanan has boasted of their good faith and religious fidelity; but their loyalty should seem to have been of a peculiar character. To conspire against the sovereign's life, appears to have been considered as a venial trespass; to have invaded the royal order of succession, was (if the expression can be used) an unimaginable treason. Even in seasons of anarchy or rebellion, nothing like revolution was achieved or attempted. During the long captivity of James the First in England, no usurper ascended the vacant throne, nor did the assassin of that injured prince attempt to wrest

of these banditti, in the preface to the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

the sceptre from his infant heir. As, however, the vices incident to uncertain governments became more flagrant under every succeeding regent, it is not surprising that factions multiplied, and that, in general, a minority should be found to form the larger portion of each monarch's reign. *

For James the Fourth, fortune seemed to have reserved a better destiny. Detesting the faction by which he had been raised as a parricide to the throne, he curbed the insolence of the nobles, established something like order and regular government, and even infused into his court a portion of his own native elegance and chivalrous gallantry. The accomplishments of James were versatile as brilliant; he excelled in jousting and horsemanship, was skilled in music, and not unpractised in poetical composition. Attracted by his celebrity, Anne of Brittany challenged him to be her knight; and what was better, Henry the Seventh of England chose him for his son-in-law. It is not often that the alliance of two royal houses becomes to their respective nations the everlasting bond of peace and concord; nor was it within the scope of political calculation, to predict the happy consequences which were hereafter to flow from the union of James and Margaret. The event was, however, hailed both in England and Scotland as the mutual pledge of harmony and friendship. Whether the

* Of one hundred and eighty-two years, seventy-five were spent in minorities.—*See Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History.*

marriage would prove acceptable to the royal pair might perhaps admit of doubt, since, at the age of twenty-nine, the King of Scotland could scarcely hope to find a companionable consort in a young princess who had not completed her fifteenth year. The espousals were, however, celebrated, in London, on the 8th of June, 1503, with the usual demonstrations of joy and triumph; and Margaret was too well pleased to possess the title and state of a queen, either to lament the approaching separation from her family, or to shrink, with maidenly timidity, from the fatigue and harassments attending her adventurous migration. The history of her bridal tour, in itself not unamusing, acquires augmented interest from the picture which it offers of society at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

King Henry himself conducted his daughter through Northamptonshire, where, having paid a farewell visit to her grandmother, the Countess of Derby, she was consigned to the care of the Earls of Surrey and Northumberland, for whose instruction he had previously written with his own hand a volume of ordonnances to regulate the ceremonial of her future progress. Margaret travelled leisurely, never commencing her ride till noon, when she had dined, nor prolonging it beyond the hour of five, when she alighted to sup and sleep at the castle or palace prepared for her reception. Wherever she approached she was greeted with praise and congratulation; fair dames

and gallant cavaliers followed in her train; and day after day produced a repetition of pageantry and jubilee. It was not, however, till after a week's progress, that she reached the famous town of Berwick, where the Earl of Northumberland was to resign his fair charge to the Lords whom James had appointed to receive her. From Berwick, Margaret departed in regal state, attired and attended as Queen of Scotland. She was preceded by the Earl of Northumberland, his cavaliers and henchmen, who were on this day in their gala dress: "After *came the said Queene* very richly arrayed, and crowned with gold and precious stones, sitting in her litter richly appointed, her footmen nigh, her palfrey following after, led by Sir Thomas Worteley, master of the horse; after, her ladies and gentlemen mounted upon fair palfreys, and their harness rich in apparel; after, came her chariot, and after that other gentlemen on horseback. Before the said Queen went, by order, Johannes and his company, and Henry Glassenbury and his company, the trumpets, officers of arms, and sergeants of masse; so that at the departing out of the said Berwick, and at her bedward at Lambertouke,* it was a joy to see and hear."

In this manner, escorted by two thousand horsemen, Margaret approached Lamberchurch, where the King's party were waiting to receive her, in a pavilion which had been constructed for the occasion.

* Lamberchurch.

"When the Queen was come, the Earl of Morton advanced, and kneeling to the ground, made the receiving. There were in presence, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Earl of Surrey; and after this, she was brought to the pavilion appointed for recreation, and helped down, and kissed of the said Lords; and by them she was brought to the pavilion, where none entered except the Lords and Ladies, and within the same was a Lady of the country, clothed in scarlet, with gentlewomen appoynted after the same guise."

"After the receiving done, each put himself again in order, and the Queen mounted on horseback; the said lord of Northumberland made his devoir at the departing, of gambades and leaps with his horse, as did likewise the lord Scroop, his father, and many other that took congé."

The number of the Scotch at this junction was estimated at one thousand persons. Passing through Haddington, the bridal party proceeded to the castle of Earl Morton, at Dalkeith, which, for the present, was to be the bourn of Margaret's pilgrimage. At the gate of the castle she was met by the Countess of Morton, and by her conducted to the state chamber; where, as she had without doubt anticipated, the King, accompanied by a few select courtiers, arrived to bid her welcome to Scotland. No sooner was the well-tutored princess apprised of his approach, than she advanced to meet him at the door of the apartment, "*when having each made great*

reverences one to *the other, his head being uncovered, they kissed togeder,* and in like wise *kissed the ladies and others also.* Then the Queen and he went aside and communed for long space; she held good *manere,* and he bare-headed."

After this courtly introduction, the royal pair, previous to a social meal, "washed *their hands in humble reverence, and after set them down togeder.* The table being cleared, *the minstrels began to blow,* when danced the queen, accompanied by my lady Surrey. This doon, the king took license of her, for it was late, and he went to his bed at Edinburgh very well content of so fair meeting."*

On the following day, at the hour of four, a second visit from James being expected, a numerous English party passed from the castle-gate to meet him; but the young monarch, whose better taste rejected the state and ceremony, so uncongenial to a lover's feelings, escaped their courtesy by stealing through a private passage to the presence of his princess; and in the poetical language of the chronicler, *flying as the bird that seeks his prey, he took other way,* and went *privately, and entered the chamber.* Surprised and delighted with this gallant intrusion, the young queen, leaving unfinished the game of cards with which she had been cheating the idle hour, flew towards her cavalier with an artless expression of joy that

* See Leland's Collectanea. The journal in question is from the pen of the herald, Charles Somerset, called the *fiançelles* of Margaret.

allowed him not to doubt her genuine sentiments. From this moment, James and Margaret seemed to forget everything but love and pleasure. When she danced, he was an enraptured spectator; and when he played on the lute and clavichords, she could not sufficiently express her satisfaction and delight. A courteous challenge called forth similar efforts of skill from the English party. Sir Edward Stanley sung a song which the king loudly applauded, whilst the queen, instead of responding in his enthusiasm, had apparently neither eye nor ear but for her beloved lord. These elegant amusements were protracted to a late hour, when, having at length taken leave, James passed the gates of the castle, and *leaping on his horse* without touching the stirrup, in an instant outstripped all his attendants; but being afterwards apprised that the Earl of Surrey was riding after him, he suddenly stopped, and uncovering his head, respectfully awaited his approach; with such scrupulous politeness did he treat the English nobles, to whom he felt indebted for the protection of his youthful bride.

During the four days that Margaret spent in this castle, James acquired an unlimited ascendancy over her mind; whilst she, on her part, readily admitted the belief that she was not merely the consort provided by the state, but an object of tender and spontaneous affection to her accomplished lord. On her departure from Dalkeith, the young queen,

superbly dressed, was placed in a litter, and with a magnificent retinue conveyed towards Edinburgh. When she had proceeded a few miles she was met by James, who, vaulting from his steed, for some time walked by her side; then exchanging his own horse for her more gentle palfrey, invited her to mount behind him, and in this manner to make her public entry into Edinburgh. Margaret had not only the courage to accept the offered seat, but sufficient self-possession to remain tranquil, amidst the innumerable spectators, by whom she was saluted with uncouth expressions of homage and gratulation.* Among other attentions of James bespeaking deference for his mistress, it was remarked, that in her presence he refused to kiss the sacred relics which were offered by the religious orders who came in procession to meet him. Never perhaps were royal nuptials so sportively solemnized, and never were bridal pair attended by so numerous and merry a cavalcade. The Scotch are said to have outshone the English in the superb

* A picturesque pageant had been contrived for the amusement of the royal pair. Within a meadow was erected a pavilion, from whence issued, according to the legends of chivalry, a knight, mounted and armed at all points, accompanied by his lady paramour, who bore his horn. He was soon encountered by another knight, who took from him his mistress, and blew his horn. At this signal, the aggrieved knight demanded justice. The king and queen approaching, demanded his grievance. Having detailed his wrongs, the king very gravely appointed a day on which they should fight before him in single combat.

housings of their steeds, their brilliant armour, and stately accoutrements: but on approaching the church of the *Holy Cross*,* each cavalier leapt from his horse, and James, putting his arm round Margaret's waist, carried her to the altar, at which they were canonically united. During the remainder of the day, it was she who reigned, and he who yielded obeisance, James spontaneously offering to his queen those expressions of fealty and homage which her ancestors had exacted from the kings of Scotland. A succession of feasts and tournaments terminated these festivities,† and with them the romance of James and Margaret. It is true they continued to live together in apparent concord, but the poetical dream of love and happiness had vanished: various objects succeeded his youthful bride, in the monarch's volatile affections; and she had often occasion to revert with melancholy regret to the hour when she quitted Dalkeith, and, for the last time, entered her triumphal chariot,‡ the only vehicle of the kind

* Holyrood.

† As a specimen of the queen's wedding-dinner, it is mentioned by Somerset, that at the first course she was served with a wild boar's head placed within a fair platter, then with a piece of brawn, and next with a gammon; the tapestry represented the siege of Troy; in the glass windows the arms of England and Scotland were quartered together.

‡ The first wheeled carriage which was seen in Scotland was a chariot which the Lady Margaret brought with her, when she came

existing in Scotland, which was ever after laid up among other articles of royal *lumber*.

The arrival of this princess forms an epoch in Scottish history. Under her auspices the court was modelled by that of England, at least, according to the plan established by the Countess of Derby: but whatever polish might have been imparted to the courtiers, little improvement was communicated to the people; and the fatal battle of Flodden Field deprived Scotland of a prince worthy to have lived and reigned in a better age.

The minority of James the Fifth, though untroubled with foreign wars, was distracted with domestic feuds. The house of Hamilton aspired to the regency; but Douglas, Earl of Arran, having espoused Queen Margaret, resisted their claim, and was himself supplanted by the Duke of Albany, a prince of the house of Stuart, who having been transplanted to France, was naturalized in that kingdom, as the Sieur d'Aubigné, and zealously supported by Francis the First. After a struggle of five years, the Duke of Albany in extreme disgust*

to marry James the Fourth. This chariot remained at Ruthven Castle.—*Chalmer's Life of Mary Queen of Scots.*

* Two instances of barbarity related by Pitscottie, sufficiently account for the Duke's abdication. Having been summoned to France, he left in his room M. de la Batie with the authority of regent. "There was a gentleman in Edinburgh named William Meldrum, Laird of Binns, who had in company with him a fair lady,

voluntarily abandoned the country and the regency, to the usurpation of the Douglas faction. Under their administration, might was right; armed men infested the halls of justice; and though exempted from foreign war, the barons main-

called the Lady Gleneagies, daughter to Mr. Richard Lawson, of Humby, provost of Edinburgh. The which lady had borne to this laird two bairns, and intended to marry her, if he might have had the Pope's license, because her husband and he were sib. Yet, notwithstanding, a gentleman, called Luke Sterling, envied this love and marriage betwixt their two persons, thinking to have the gentlewoman to himself in marriage, because he knew the laird might not have the Pope's license by the laws, therefore he solisted his brother's son, the Laird of Keir, with a certain company of armed men, to set upon the Laird of Binns, to take this lady from him by way and deed, and to that effect followed him betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, and set on him beneath the Rood chapel with fifty armed men, and he again defended himself with five in number, and slew the Laird of Keir's principal servants before his face, and hurt the Laird, that he was in peril of his life, and twenty-six men hurt and slain, yet, through multiplication of his enemies, he was overset and driven to earth, and left lying for dead, haught of his legs, and stricken through the body, and the knops of his elbows stricken from him. Yet, by the mighty power of God he escaped the death, and all his men that were with him, and lived fifty years after."—See PITSCOTTIE.

M. de la Batie, by pursuing the author of this crime, drew on himself the vengeance of the Laird of Wedderburn, who, having caused him to be murdered, "*cut off his head*, and because his hair was long, like women's, and plat on a headlace, David Hume, of Wedderburn, knit it on his saddle-bow."—PITSCOTTIE.

tained a petty warfare against each other, which in its consequences was infinitely more calamitous. Each insulated castle inspired distrust; the forest districts were occupied by hordes of banditti; even in populous towns the citizens were often disturbed by the alarum bell, or trumpet calling to arms; every species of outrage was committed with impunity on the weaker sex; throughout Scotland there was no sanctuary for innocence, no tribunal of justice. The lively descriptions of the chronicler, Pitscottie, can alone convey an adequate idea of the miseries incident to this barbarous state of society.

"Then when the Duke (of Albany) was departed, there arose great trouble and deadly feuds in many parts of Scotland, both in the north and west parts. The Master of Forbes (in the north) slew the Laird of Meldrum under *tryst*, likewise the Laird of Drumelzier slew the Lord Fleming at the hawking, and likewise there was slaughter among many other lords, that is to say, betwixt the Laird of Kilmaurs, and the Master of Semple."

This "cumber drew over till the King was twelve years of age," when he was ostensibly invested with the rights of sovereignty: but it appears from Pitscottie, that the power was substantially lodged in four nobles, the Lords Argyle, Angus, Lennox, St. Andrew, chosen to be tutors and governors to the King, "who remained in their custody a year, with great cheer, triumph, and merriness, till at the last there vaked

some benefice, which put them all at discord for disposition of the same, for every lord thought he would be served according to his rule, and his state; but the Earl of Angus warred the other three, for when he had gotten Dunkeld, he would have had Coldingham, and could not be staiked so, but when Holyrood-House vaked, he would have had it also, and showed the lords he was scant of hay and corn when he came to the town, therefore he behoved to have that benefice with the lave to find his horsemeat: and the lave of the lords, considering the Earl of Angus's greediness, that he would not be content without that he had all at his disposition, and considered nothing of their expenses in the King's service, that they had made, as well as he. And the Earl of Lennox got nothing, wherefore he tired of the court, and passed home to his own country; and so did the Earl of Arran to his own place. But bishop James Beaton remained still in Edinburgh in his own lodging, that he bigged in the Friers Wynde, for he might not pass out of the town, for he was chancellar for the time, and sat on the seat to use justice, and came never toward the court, nor the King, but as he was sent for. Thus the Earl of Angus guided the King and court as he pleased, and caused him to ride through all Scotland, under the pretence and colour of justice, to punish thief and traitor, but none (adds Pitscottie) were found greater than were in his own company. Farther he caused strike, a groat of eighteen pennies, which

afterwards was called the Douglass groat, and none at that time durst strive with a Douglass, nor yet a Douglass's men, for if they did, they got the worse, therefore, none durst plainzie of no extortion, theft, reiff, nor slaughter done to them by the Douglasses or their men. In that cause they were not heard so long as the Douglasses had the court in guiding. This still they continued a while so long as fortune bore them favour."

There is perhaps no state of thraldom more revolting than that, in which the oppressed party is tantalized and insulted, with the mock appendages of sovereignty. The young King felt with bitterness, that he was but the hostage of the Lords of Douglas, who, in his name, and by his authority, enacted whatever was most repugnant to his wishes and interests. Compelled to dissemble his indignation, he engaged first the Earl of Buccleugh, and afterwards the Earl of Lennox, to affect, by armed force, his liberation from his oppressors. But the good fortunes of Angus prevailed. The Laird of Buccleugh being defeated in the first enterprise, and in the second the Earl of Lennox slain in the plain of Linlithgow, an event which James deplored with tears, and secret vows of vengeance. Baffled, not subdued, the young King at length escaped in the disguise of a groom; and having joined his mother at Stirling, promptly enforced measures to secure his future independence, by denouncing banishment or destruction

on all who bore the name of Douglas. The next step taken by James was to relieve his subjects from the depredations of the banditti, who had long committed every outrage with audacious impunity: delighting in active pursuits, he watched their haunts by day and night; attacked their chief, Armstrong, well known in the ballads of Scotland; made a judicial progress through the kingdom; presided personally in the courts, or, as they were called, *justice Ayres;* and finally established in Edinburgh a permanent court for civil causes (the sessions house); an act of sound policy, which, in some degree, atoned for the cruelty with which he revenged on the beautiful wife of Lord Lyons, the crime of having sprung from the blood of Douglas.* Without inheriting the elegance of his father's mind or manners, this prince participated in his taste for magnificence, and sometimes indulged in scenes of pomp and revelry. Like his predecessors, addicted to gallantry, he showed little impatience to select a royal consort, and refused several princesses who were offered to his acceptance, but at length embarked for the Continent, with ambitious aspirations for a daughter of Francis the First, and a sort of vague incli-

* The apologists of James pretend that he was incited to this cruelty, by the malice of an unsuccessful lover of the lady Jane, who, seeing her married to another, in revenge invented the charge of treason against her. There is a very interesting account of Jane in Hume of Godscroft, and in other old Scottish histories.

nation to fall in love with Mary* the daughter of the Duke of Vendôme. Having proceeded to the Duke's palace under an assumed name, he was at first received merely as a foreigner of distinction; but the Princess, who appears to have been deeply read in books of chivalry, had a presentiment of his approach, and recognised him by his resemblance to a portrait, which, in the true spirit of a heroine of romance, she had clandestinely procured from Scotland. The Duke, admiring his daughter's discernment, showered innumerable honours on the royal guest: during some days nothing was thought of but pleasure and gallantry; nor was it without dismay, that the enamoured Princess saw her volatile knight depart for Paris, where another royal heroine was prepared to offer herself to his acceptance. Magdalen, the eldest, and best beloved, daughter of Francis, had long permitted her fancy to dwell on the attractions of the King of Scotland, and at the first glance conceived for him an enthusiastic attachment. Already the devoted victim of pulmonary disease, she forgot her sufferings in his presence, and allowed herself to anticipate many years of life and happiness. The avowal of her predilection, alike flattering to his vanity and ambition, decided the fickle monarch's choice; and her father not daring to oppose the wishes of her heart, the nuptials were solemnized with the utmost magnificence, and commemorated by the poet Ronsard in an epitha-

* See Pitscottie.

lamium, which should rather have been an elegy, since the young Queen, who had knelt with fond enthusiasm to kiss the soil of Scotland, was in six weeks consigned to an untimely grave.

After her death, if equity were recognised by the courts of love, it might have been expected that James should return to the deserted Mary of Vendôme :* on the contrary, his election fell on another lady whom he had admired at the court of Francis,—Mary of Guise, the relict of the Duke de Longueville. Independent of her personal charms and accomplishments, this Princess, by her decided rejection of Henry the Eighth, had acquired indisputable claims to the esteem and gratitude of the King of Scotland; to whom his uncle, whether as an Englishman or a Reformer, appears to have been an object of suspicion and aversion.

Hitherto James had been singularly favoured by fortune: allied to the monarchs of France and England, he saw, in the cordial friendship that united those two great potentates, an inviolable pledge for the future tranquillity of Scotland. During some years, he continued to be caressed by both princes, till he was unhappily persuaded to decline the solicitations of Henry to meet him at York, for the express purpose of

* The fate of this aggrieved Princess is left in obscurity. According to Pitscottie, she died of chagrin; other writers pretend that she retired from the world, and became a dignified abbess.

framing a system of religious union between the two kingdoms. The repugnance which James manifested for the Reformation might perhaps originate in the distrust with which he was apt to regard every measure recommended by the English cabinet, in opposition to the councils of the French monarch; but, abstracted from national prejudices, he was withheld by Cardinal Beaton and the bishops, on whom he chiefly depended for support against his refractory nobles, and to whose prayers and exhortations was added bribery, to deter him from allowing Henry the desired interview. That he was not swayed by sentiments of genuine devotion, is evident from the indulgence, and even the patronage, which he accorded to Sir David Lindsay, and other satirical poets, by whom the ceremonies and superstitions of the church were held up to shame and derision. From whatever motives he was induced to reject Henry's overtures, the step proved fatal to himself, and unfortunate to his country. Neither the King, nor the Cardinal, had sufficient authority to prevent the dissemination of the new principles among the nobles: of whom many coalesced with the emissaries of the English monarch, and not a few submitted to become his pensioners. Surrounded with spies and traitors, it was in vain that James displayed the ancient banner of Scotland, whilst he estranged the affections even of his loyal barons, by elevating above them his favourite, Oliver Sinclair. The disgraceful flight of Solway Moss attested the

prevalence of faction; and the King too late discovered, that the authority of the clergy formed no adequate counterpoise to the refractory spirit of the nobility, sustained by the intrigues and artifices of the English government. Unable to brook an injury which he wanted the power to revenge, he sunk with unmanly weakness under the mortification his imprudence had provoked, and died as he had lived, the victim of ill-regulated passions, and the dupe of rash or perfidious counsels. His last scene is thus touchingly described by Pitscottie:

"The King passed out of Holyrood-house to Falkland, and there became heavy and dolorous, that he never ate nor drank that had digestion, and so he became vehement sick that no man had hope of his life: then he sent for certain of his lords both spiritual and temporal, to have their counsel, but ere they came, he was well nigh strangled to death by extreme melancholy. By this the post came to the King out of Linlithgow, showing him good tidings that the Queen was delivered. The King inquired whether it was a man-child or a woman; the messenger said, It is a fair daughter; the King answered, Adieu! farewell: it come with a lass, and it will pass with a lass; and so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God, and spake little from that time forth, but turned his back to his lords, and his face to the wall: at this time Laird Beaton, Cardinal of Scotland, standing in presence of the King, seeing him begin to fail of his strength, and

natural speech, held a throch of paper to his Grace, and caused him to subscribe the same, wherein the said Cardinal wrote what pleased him, for his own particular thinking, to have authority and preeminence in the government of the country. But we may know hereby the King's legacy was very short, for in this manner he departed, as hereafter I shall show you. He turned him upon his back, and looked and beheld all his nobles and lords about him, and gave a little smile of laughter, then kissed his hand, and offered the same to all his nobles round about him, thereafter held up his hands, and yielded his spirit to God."

Henry is said to have deplored his nephew's untimely death, in the simple expression of—"*Woe is me*, for there will never reign in Scotland a king so *sib* to me, neither whom I favoured so much, or so affectuously wished for this conference, which would have turned to joy, and benefit to us both, if he had not been hindered by bad counsel." It is, however, notorious, that the English monarch consoled himself by projecting a marriage between his son Edward and the infant heiress of Scotland,—a speculation suggested by sound political wisdom, and which promised to consolidate the interests and ensure the domestic tranquillity of both kingdoms. To promote this laudable design, he dismissed, on parol, the Scottish lords lately captured at Solway Forth, and delegated to Sadler, one of the ablest negotiators of the age, the important task of realizing

his schemes of conciliation. The nobility were divided into the pensioners of England, the partisans of France, and a small band of insulated patriots, unaffectedly zealous for national honour and independence. The mass of the clergy, who had naturally an interest in opposing whatever might lead to reformation, industriously fomented the jealousy and enmity which subsisted with the sister kingdom. In spite of these obstacles, Sadler appears to have flattered himself with anticipations of success; which might have been realized, but for the jealousy of Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who claimed the regency, and the vacillation of his nephew, the Earl of Arran, upon whom, as presumptive heir to the crown, that dignity had actually been conferred. As this nobleman was attached to the Reformers, he was naturally disposed to listen to the English ambassador; till the Cardinal adroitly insinuated, that the legitimacy of his birth rested upon the maintenance of papal supremacy, his mother, Jane Beaton, having been married to the Earl of Arran, by virtue of a dispensation obtained from the Consistorial Court, whose authority was not recognised by the Reformers. To enforce this argument, the Cardinal invited from France, Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who, next to Arran, might boast his affinity to the young Queen, and who, according to ancient law and usage, had, on the presumption of his illegitimacy, reserved, by these manœuvres, an indisputable title to the regency. Alarmed by

these insinuations, the pusillanimous Arran not only deserted the party to which he owed his late elevation, but lost to all sense of shame, privately abjured his heresies in the presence of his uncle, whilst publicly he ratified the treaty with Sadler, and even reconciled himself to Lennox,* who openly aspired to the hand of Mary of Guise. No sooner was peace concluded between the antagonist parties, than the infant Queen, the innocent victim of their sinister intrigues, was removed from Linlithgow, the place of her nativity, to Stirling Castle, to be crowned according to ancient usage, in the presence of the assembled states.

Nothing can so strongly prove with what almost superstitious veneration the Scottish people cherished the blood of their native princes, as that notwithstanding the ungallant prejudice which had hitherto denied, even to a Queen Consort, to wear a crown, they should now be reconciled to the appalling novelty of a female monarch; and such was the enthusiasm inspired by the resolution to resist the domination of England, that all ranks were eager to pronounce the vows of allegiance, and the inauguration of the infant Mary was the most popular event of her unfortunate reign. On that occasion only, there was a momentary suspension of faction and rivalry. The nobility, with the exception of Henry's pensioners, hastened to the hall to meet the numerous deputations of the clergy and people. The late

* See Pitscottie.—Buchanan.—Sadler's State Papers.

competitors for the regency, whom Cardinal Beaton had incited to war, were now, by his mediation, united in apparent concord. The feeble-minded Arran bore the crown; the graceful Lennox sustained the sceptre. In the line of barons stood Patrick Hepburn, another of the Queen-dowager's rejected suitors, and thus, by a singular coincidence, the fathers of Darnley and Bothwell, the future authors of Mary's ruin, assisted at the coronation of the infant princess; but whilst the walls of Stirling Castle resounded with acclamations to the first of her despised sex, who had ascended the throne of Bruce, the fierce or determined features of the rival parties gave a sinister aspect to the pageant, which might be regarded as the first scene in the tragedy of the Queen of Scots. In a political view, the consequences resulting from the ceremony were truly critical; since Henry, no longer trusting to the Regent's professions, with impolitic violence insulted the Scots, and thus furnished the opportunity his enemies had desired, by taking to himself the blame of infringing the treaty. Hostilities were thus recommenced, and with them a series of calamities, such as are inevitably entailed on a distracted kingdom, subject to the intrusions of a more powerful neighbour.*

* In the diplomatic communications of Sadler, it is amusing to observe with what courtly address the statesman ascribes the disorders of the Scots to their *beastly* liberty; adding, that force or fraud was the only law, and that all disputes were referred to the sword:—

To the ferocity inspired by the southern invaders was added the more fatal influence of English gold. The Anglican and Gallican interests divided the nobles, from whose example the commons caught the contagion of venality and perfidy. The red cross of England spread terror through the southern provinces; banditti infested the precincts of most of the towns; atrocious outrages were everywhere committed with impunity; and, to fill up the measure of national wrongs and woes, the devastating flames of persecution burst forth. At the fiat of Cardinal Beaton, the virtuous Wishart ascended the funeral pyre, and with his dying breath communicated his alleged heresy to thousands, who, but for his immolation, might never have ventured to rebel against ecclesiastical despotism.

The subsequent murder of this enterprising churchman still more strikingly illustrates the spirit and manners of his age. That a band of sixteen conspirators should have surprised the castle of St. Andrew's, overpowered its guards, and, in defiance of numerous domestics, forced their way to the Bishop's chamber, is in itself a transaction sufficiently extraordinary;

"The Earl of Huntley is still at home in the north parts of this realm, where he hath much ado with my Lord Forbes, who hath slain many of the said Earl's men. The difference betwixt them is for land, which the late King took from the said Lord Forbes, and gave it to the said Earl of Huntley, and others of his sirname, called the Gordons; and now the said Earl of Forbes intendeth, if he can, to recover his land again with the sword, for other law or justice here hath little place."—*Sadler's State Papers.*

but when we discover that this atrocious enterprise was conducted by no less a personage than Norman Leslie, the son and heir of the Earl of Rothes, and that his associates were not mercenaries, but men of birth and undisputed reputation; when we find enrolled among them the brave Kirkaldy of Grange, the most gallant Knight of Scotland, and learn that the criminals not only defied punishment, but escaped infamy; it is impossible not to conclude either that society had here retrograded, or that it had yet to emerge from the barbarism which enveloped Europe in the middle ages.

In a country where force was law, the profession of a freebooter must have been comparatively respectable; and it is a curious fact, that the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, by taking possession of his castle, opened the first asylum to the Reformers in Scotland. A coalition was quickly formed between the persecuted heretic and the hardy outlaw. The ministry of Knox, enforced by rules of military discipline, gradually introduced order and decency into a garrison, composed of men not unworthy to have descended from Wallace, and who, during a siege of two years, not only baffled the governor's efforts to reduce it to obedience, but offered, perhaps, an example of one of the best regulated communities in the kingdom. In other respects, the Cardinal's death afforded no relief to the reforming party, since Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley (the Earl of Arran's illegitimate brother), had succeeded to his see, and to

his system of coercion. Above all, he emulated him in personal ambition; and it was probably at his suggestion that a marriage-treaty was secretly concluded between the Earl of Arran's eldest son (the Master of Hamilton) and the young Queen. But this speculation was frustrated by the address and sagacity of a female politician, to whose talents even the spirit of party has rendered justice, and whose reputation, with the exception of one polemical adversary,* none have dared to impeach. This was no other than Mary the Queen Mother; a princess who, if she sympathized in the prejudices of her family, possessed moral and intellectual qualities that might have commanded respect in any age or country.

Sprung from a race of which it had long been the boast that all its sons were brave and its daughters chaste, Mary of Guise not only appears to have placed her chief happiness in promoting the interests of her house, but to have been persuaded that she yielded to an imperative call of duty in holding every object subordinate to its honour and exaltation. Born in an age, and destined to a station, in which dissimulation instead of being reprobated was respected, and even commended as the concomitant of sagacity and wisdom,† she never scrupled

* Knox.

† Throckmorton, the English ambassador, in a conversation with Mary Stuart, at Paris (1562), in praising this princess, expressly says, "and she was inferior to none in dissimulation."—*Cabala.*

to conceal or to disguise her sentiments, when policy dictated concealment, and often misled those whom she considered as her adversaries, by that partial revelation of truth which operates not less decidedly than positive falsehood. To her kinsmen of Lorrain she appears to have been ever faithful, ingenuous, and sincere; and, unfortunately for herself, her daughter, and Scotland, was accustomed to submit to them, not her inclination only, but her better judgment: in this single instance, her masculine understanding confessed the weakness, or rather the sympathies, peculiar to the female character. Like other royal dames, she scrupled not, for a political end, to receive the addresses of ambitious suitors; and it was notorious that she had employed female blandishments to baffle the schemes of her too powerful adversaries. To divide the hostile party she had flattered the vanity of Lenox, and endured the presumption of Bothwell: under the semblance of confiding frankness she surprised the vigilant Sadler, as readily as she subdued the pusillanimous Arran. Even the Cardinal appears not to have been exempted from the operation of her address; nor can it be doubted, that, in submitting to his tutelage, she watched for the moment to establish her own independence.

The death of Henry the Eighth produced no change in her prospects, since his system of aggression continued to be pursued by the Protector Somerset; but the demise of Francis the First opened to the princes of Guise a new and brilliant

perspective, and by their influence, a treaty of marriage between her daughter and the Dauphin was proposed at the French court. It required, however, all the queen dowager's address, to induce the Earl of Arran and his brother to commute his son's reversionary pretensions on her daughter's sceptre, for the promise of a ducal title in France, and a substantial pension. And even after this victory was achieved, the more difficult task remained—to induce the states of Scotland to consent to the marriage and expatriation of their native sovereign. No circumstance could have been less seasonable to the queen mother's wishes, than the pacific dispositions which the English Protector manifested in a conciliatory letter addressed to the Earl of Arran (in 1557), offering peace and amity, on the simple condition that the young queen should neither be married nor sent out of the kingdom till she should be of an age to make her own election. Aware of the impression which a proposition so moderate and judicious was calculated to produce on the nation, the Earl of Arran suppressed the document; and by that disingenuous procedure decided Mary's fate.

After the famous battle of Musselburgh, the Scots, more than ever exasperated against their English invaders, sacrificing both patriotism and prudence to vindictive feelings, rashly embraced the proposals of France; by which, without obtaining any of those advantages to be expected from an union

with England, they inevitably compromised their national independence.

It is easy to conceive with what exultation Mary of Guise witnessed the consummation of those schemes which had so long engaged her attention. As a foreigner, she could not sympathize in the feelings of indignant patriotism with which every true-born Scot revolted from the idea of Gallic or English dominion; whilst as a mother, she might be permitted to triumph, in having, according to all human probability, rescued her daughter from the innumerable difficulties and perils incident to a Scottish prince; nor was it perhaps the least cause of felicitation, that she should thus be preserved from the guilt and shame attendant on heretical apostacy; above all, as a daughter of Guise, she exulted in the prospect of an accession of dignity to her house, and in having extended its influence in the counsels of Europe.

Whatever political objections might exist to the expatriation of Mary as a sovereign, to herself, as an individual of the female sex, it promised, and even secured, incalculable advantages. It is a trite remark, that the condition of the female sex is determined by the scale of comparative civilization; and in Scotland, where *might* was *right*, and force was law, women could have little chance of inspiring the respect or obtaining the influence which they ought to possess in domestic life; nor is it surprising if, under such circumstances, they

were in general little susceptible of delicacy, and little attentive to decorum.*

According to Pitscottie, and other writers, ladies of rank often condescended to live with ecclesiastical dignitaries † as their acknowledged paramours. The celebrated Marian Ogilvy, the daughter of a nobleman, submitted to this disgrace for the sake of Cardinal Beaton; and the daughter of Lord Semple forsook a husband to live with his successor, and by her influence screened from punishment her father, who had killed Lord Crichton within the walls of the episcopal palace.‡ The facilities which were offered by the Consistorial Court for obtaining divorces, had an obvious tendeney to degrade the female character, and endless was the mischief resulting from subsequent marriages.§

* See Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*.—Stuart's *History of the Reformation.*

† Cardinal Beaton solemnized with splendour the nuptials of his daughter a few days previous to his assassination: he is, however, said to have married her mother before he embraced a religious vocation.—Pitscottie.

‡ See PITSCOTTIE.

§ Of this an example was furnished by Lesley, Earl of Rothes, who, having privately espoused a daughter of Lord Crichton, had by her a son, the notorious Norman Lesley, the principal agent in the murder of Cardinal Beaton; soon after whose birth, the Earl was induced to contract a second regular marriage with Nicholas, the more wealthy daughter of Sir John Somerville, by whom he had three children; but this lady dying, after an interval of twenty-four

With these rude manners was often exhibited a luxurious though inelegant prodigality, announcing rather the corruption, than the amelioration of society. The love of finery appears to have been as prevalent in Scotland as in any court of Europe; and, if we may at all credit the details of contemporaneous writers, the vices of other nations had been transplanted to this northern soil, without the graces, or even the virtues co-existing with a better order of things, and which are almost inseparably connected with the diffusion of knowledge, literature, refinement, and cultivation.* It is a curious fact that the rise of religious controversy, which in some nations has been found to arrest the progress of civilization, was in Scotland the harbinger of moral and intellectual improvement. In a feudal state of society, it was no trifling advantage to have discovered a principle of attraction more powerful than local sympathies or clannish attachments, and to concentrate in a common cause energies previously wasted in upholding the

years, he thought proper to re-solemnize his nuptials with the dishonoured Margaret Crichton, and consequently to legitimate Norman his eldest son, who was from that time designated the Master of Rothes. Many similar examples of irregularity might be produced; and among them that of Patrick Hepburn, Earl Bothwell, who had dissolved his union with Agnes, the mother of James, afterwards so fatal to the Queen of Scots.

* See Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*. Stuart's *History of the Reformation*.

personal or hereditary rivalships of a Hamilton or a Douglas. From this moment the people came to be recognised as opposing opinion to authority; and were thus gradually prepared for that complete and extraordinary revolution, so soon to take place in the manners and sentiments, the character and conduct, of the whole community.

CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YOUNG QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.—THE FOUR MARIES.—EMBARKATION.—ESSE, STROSSI, VILLEGAGNON.—REMARKS ON THE COMPARATIVE MORALS OF THE FRENCH COURT.—THE FRENCH COMPARED WITH OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS.—CHARACTER OF DIANA DE POITIERS.—OF THE CONSTABLE MONTMORENCY.—OF THE COLIGNYS.—LIBERAL OPINIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT.—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO THE KING AGAINST THE OMNIPOTENCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS.

FROM the hour of her birth (the 7th December, in 1542) to the moment of her expatriation (in 1548), the heiress of James the Fifth had been surrounded as a prisoner, with sentinels and fortified walls, the symbols of subjection and captivity. During two years after her coronation, she had been permitted to remain in Stirling Castle, in the custody of the Earls of Livingston and Mar, who, at the peril of life and fortune, guarantied her safety. But so rapid were the approaches of the English invaders, that it was deemed necessary to remove her to the isle of Inchmahom, on the lake of Monteith; a romantic spot, rarely visited but for purposes of devotion, which, by its position, seemed to bid defiance to the hostile intruder. To this retreat she had been attended by the curators of her

person, and two nominal tutors, John Erskine, the prior of Inchmahom, and Alexander Scott, the parson of Balmacellan. The real charge of her tuition devolved on her nurse, Janet Sinclair,* whom she afterwards liberally recompensed; and on her governess and kinswoman, the Lady Fleming, a natural daughter of James the Fourth, married to the unfortunate nobleman who was slain in the battle of Pinkie. Over nurse, governess, and tutors, presided Mary of Guise, with all the vigilance of maternal affection, guided by a mind of discrimination and intelligence. Sensible that the important objects of education were most likely to be promoted by a system of social tuition, she pursued, with her daughter, a plan similar to what she had seen successfully adopted in the Royal Family of France, of forming within the court a little school in which all the members should be equally associated as sister pupils. For this purpose, she selected four girls, nearly of her daughter's age, each bearing the name of Mary; of whom the first was Mary Beaton, a niece of the Cardinal; the second Mary Fleming, the daughter of Lord Fleming, before mentioned; the third was Mary Livingston, whose father has been already noticed as one of the curators of the Queen's person; the fourth was Mary Seaton, whose father, Lord Seaton, was ever faithfully devoted to the Royal Family.

* The wife of one John Kemp, to whom a liberal grant was made by the crown.—Chalmer's 4to. edition.

With these chosen companions, the young Queen had willingly migrated from Stirling to Inchmahom; where, according to Conæus, she soon acquired a docility and gentleness, which were the more extraordinary, as she inherited from her father a keen susceptibility of temper rarely associated with patience and forbearance.

Of Mary's residence in Inchmahom, nothing has been transmitted worth notice; she appears to have been already initiated in the rudiments of the French language; and it is stated to have been by the express desire of her mother, that even at this early age she entered on classical studies; but whatever might have been the occupations or amusements of the little Queen and her attendant Maries, they were in a few months transferred from their peaceful island to the castle of Dumbarton; and it was from that romantic spot, every object of whose bold and beautiful scenery has been immortalized in Scottish song, that the daughter of James the Fifth embarked for her adopted country. Amongst the foreigners who assisted in the transportation, were men of high military or naval reputation, opposed in party, and engaged in domestic rivalship. Of these, M. D'Esse, who remained with the French troops in Scotland, was attached to the House of Guise. Leon Strozzi, a kinsman of Catherine de Medicis, was equally distinguished by native intrepidity and military science. There was another individual associated in this undertaking, of versatile talent, and

rising reputation, the brave Admiral Villegagnon. It was afterwards reserved for that officer, who was protected by the Colignys, and, like them, the advocate of religious toleration, to found, in Rio Janeiro, a settlement for the persecuted Calvinists; which, owing to polemical controversy, was quickly abandoned, and finally transferred to the Portuguese: under whose auspices it was destined to become the seat of Catholic bigotry.

It was late in July when Mary was conveyed on board the galley prepared for her reception; and it has been the boast of her biographers,* that, though in parting from her mother she was seen to weep, no murmurs escaped her lips. It was otherwise with her subjects; of whom few could witness, without indignant regret, her departure as a fugitive from her own dominions, and of whom many anticipated danger or treachery to their Queen, and to themselves subjection and dependence. But these gloomy apprehensions prevented not a copious migration to France, composed not only of Mary's personal friends and attendants, but of adventurers allured by the privileges of naturalization which had been accorded to all Scotsmen by Henry the Second, and who were eager to pursue their career of fortune, or to secure to their children the advantages of superior cultivation.

To be educated in France, was not then, as it afterwards became, to be trained in habits of frivolity and dissipation;

* Conæus in Jebb.

but to be imbued with the love of literature, inured to the rigour of scholastic discipline, and inspired with a generous ambition to excel in classical studies and liberal pursuits.* Nor was it from Scotland only that a crowd of youthful strangers collected in those Gallic schools and colleges, which, with truly royal munificence, were gratuitously opened to their reception. At this moment, a variety of circumstances conspired to render France the chosen seat of the Muses. Under Louis the Twelfth, and his brilliant successor, learning held a real, not an imaginary sceptre, which extended over a considerable part of Europe: in the history of that age, we shall find that the accomplished scholar, like an oriental mandarin, was raised by the exercise of superior intellect, to a sort of independent nobility, the more honourable, as it was exempted from the adulation imposed on the professed courtier.† It is well known, that Erasmus, the correspondent of three great monarchs, lived and died in indigent but dignified independence; and that when Francis determined on re-modelling the university of Paris,‡ he was aided in his patriotic intention by

* Many enormous evils existed even in the schools and colleges of France.—See note at the end of this volume.

† See note at the end of the volume.

‡ According to the French historians, Francis was instigated to this munificent undertaking by Cardinal du Bellay and Guillaume Bude. The university of Paris had long existed, but remained involved in scholastic barbarism. Without abrogating its constitutional privileges, the king erected six colleges, to which were

that illustrious recluse, who thus became his colleague in the only enterprise he ever attempted really worthy of an enlightened mind, and which alone, of all his elaborate plans and splendid achievements, has merited the gratitude of his own nation, or secured the admiration of impartial posterity. It was a noble and distinguishing feature of those improvements, that their privileges were not withheld from individuals of any rank or country: the six new professors of philology, mathematics, and the belles-lettres, hereafter to be maintained at the

attached six professors, with a salary of 200 crowns to each, for the study of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, the mathematics, medicine, and moral philosophy. In addition to this establishment it had even been proposed to educate and maintain, at the charge of the state, 600 pupils, who were to be thus prepared for the liberal professions. It had been originally intended, that the revenues of several rich abbeys should be appropriated to the expenses attending this institution: although this design was afterwards abandoned, the recent colleges continued to flourish; and Henry the Second created a new professorship for Latin oratory. Emulation was excited equally among the different professors and their pupils: several valuable works issued from their press; and but for the interruption of the civil wars, the original conception of Francis, or rather, of his adviser, Du Chatd, would have been realized. During the rage of intolerance and persecution, the university of Paris maintained, with its privileges, its liberal principles: foreigners were freely admitted to the schools, and even eligible to each chair; nor was it till the year 1610, that it was required of each member to make a formal profession of the Roman Catholic faith.—See Garnier's *Histoire de France;* also *Reformation de l' Université de Paris.* Published in 1640.

royal charge, delivered gratuitous instructions, to as many students as could be collected within the walls of their academies. In contemplating the spirit of this institution, which, however imperfect in its organization, was meant to become an university open to all mankind, we should wish to forget that barbarous extermination of the unoffending Vaudois, which was decreed and consummated during this monarch's reign,* and

* "A remnant of the Vaudois had long been sheltered in the gorge of the mountainous district which divides Piedmont from Dauphiny; their only occupation was to tend their herds; once a week they assembled in religious communion, and listened to the exposition of certain barbes or elders of the Scriptures; to which was added a discourse, interlarded with invectives against Popes and Cardinals. It was not till the year 1530 that they heard of Luther, when they sent two deputies to confer with him, and, finally, after some controversy, acceded to the union of Calvin. Their territory was comprised in the little state of Venaissin, the town of Colriere, in Provence, and a few villages; but their insignificance did not protect them from the denunciation of the Archbishop of Aix; and in 1543 an edict was issued for rasing the walls of Merindol. The Count de Grignan refusing to put this order in execution, the King sent Cardinal du Bellay to investigate the transaction, and, from his favourable report, the sentence was suspended. At length, owing to a private quarrel between the Countess de Cental and the Baron d'Oppeda, a fresh persecution was excited against these unhappy people; and Francis having signed the decree for their ruin, Baron d'Oppeda, under pretence of levying troops for the war with England, surrounded the territory of the Vaudois, who, unsuspicious of the meditated outrage, left not their home till too late to shun destruction; the men were butchered, the women brutally sacrificed, and of 7000 individuals, only a few strag-

the indiscriminate slaughter of 7000 simple and defenceless mountaineers, whose only crime it was, that they presumed to reject the tyranny despotically imposed by Popes, Prelates, and Inquisitors, and persisted in worshipping God according to the dictates of reason and conscience.

On the moral character of Francis, this enormous and unmanly outrage has left an indelible stain, without even the miserable palliative of fanaticism, which might often be urged for contemporary persecutors. His understanding revolted from the extravagant pretensions he affected to support, and far from venerating the church, whose usurpations he vindicated, he was scarcely more delicate than Henry the Eighth of England, in appropriating its possessions to the exigencies of the state,* and as little scrupled to sanction or introduce innovations and abuses to promote his own convenience and advantage. It was not superstition, but policy, that impelled Francis

glers were permitted to escape."—Garnier's *Histoire de France*, tome xiii.

* It was a saying of Francis the First that Monks were good for nothing but to frequent taverns, play at dice, to twist strings for the crossbow, manufacture fur pockets, or teach linnets to whistle; and that they tippled and gormandized to cheat the hours of idleness.—Brantome.—From the same writer we learn, that the ecclesiastical elections were usually characterized by violence or intrigue: in the conclave of Cardinals, the election of a Pope proceeded with the utmost decorum; in a chapter of Monks, on the contrary, the parties appear to have often passed from words to blows.

to sustain the papal cause, when, under the pretext of defending the cross, he perpetrated cruelties abhorrent to the Gospel, and, in the true spirit of oriental tyranny, joined the impious crusade against reason, justice, and humanity.*

It is somewhat extraordinary that the same mind, in which policy and ambition had destroyed all delicacy of moral feeling, should have retained its original and generous ardour for disseminating science and learning; and that a prince, who was himself jealous of the authority of conscience, should have desired to raise a temple to knowledge, which is ever found to be the shrine of liberty. In opening his academy to Europe, he not only exalted France in the scale of nations, but imparted to it that internal consciousness of elevation, that enthusiasm for national superiority, which forces pride and other equivocal passions into a cordial alliance with honour, magnanimity, and benevolence. Proud of the fair fame which the munificence of their sovereign had procured to their country, the French nobles became anxious to discharge to foreigners the duties of hospitality. With the spirit of ancient Gauls,† they boasted that the laws of France allowed not domestic slavery, and that even the alien, who had once entered its soil, was exonerated from his master's tyranny: but, in recognising this generous principle of their constitution, they for-

* Garnier's *Histoire de France*, tome xiii.

† See Pasquier's *Recherches sur la France.*

got, or rather they perceived not, how heavily feudal usages weighed on their own oppressed peasantry. Sentiments such as these indicated a rapid developement of intelligence and civilization, and, whilst the country remained in a state of tranquillity, in some degree qualified or mitigated the evils of their political system.

In the southern parts of Europe, the increasing power of ecclesiastics had paralyzed the understanding, and perverted the feelings of the people; the fairest provinces of Italy were degraded by subjection to foreign usurpation; and, in Rome, if we may credit even Catholic writers, hypocrisy was unlimited and venality universal.*

England had but partially emerged from the barbarism so fatally prolonged during the contentions of York and Lancaster.

In Germany, attention was almost exclusively fixed on religious disquisitions. In France alone the genius of modern Italy had inspired an enthusiasm for the resuscitation of letters and the arts, more truly glorious than the sceptre of conquest, or the wreath of triumph.

It has been usual with the biographers of Mary Stuart to

* A lively picture of the political grievances and popular vices of Rome is presented even by orthodox poets; and in general the declension of morals in France is traced to the influence of Italy.—See *Poesies* de Joachim du Bellay.

represent the court of Henry as unparalleled in vice and profligacy, and to attribute the errors and misfortunes of this Princess to its libertine principles and contagious examples. That the political system which prevailed during this reign was ill calculated to establish harmony and confidence between the sovereign and the people, is indeed but too clearly demonstrated, by the whole tenor of its history; but the opinion that Mary, as a woman, was exposed to seductions, from which in Scotland or England she might have been exempted, appears to have arisen from the habit of identifying the reign of Henry the Second with the regency of Catherine de Medicis, when the malignant passions excited by religious and political dissensions, conspired with the calamities of civil war, to break down those barriers of honour, probity, and fidelity, which had hitherto belonged to the national character; and when unprincipled rulers, and their mischievous ministers, plunged the deluded people into an abyss of misery and crimes, and sacrificed to the flagitious doctrine of expediency, whatever was held dear or sacred in public and private life. But the turpitude of those actions neither attaches to the primitive Gallic character, nor belongs to the age of Henry the Second; when it was the boast of French heroes, that they showed mercy to a fallen foe, and the prayer of French patriots, that cruelty and perfidy, the vices common to Italy and Spain, might never be transplanted to their happier soil. Let the

names of the Chancellor Olivier, the President Du Thou, of Michael L'Hopital, attest, that in their day the authority of virtue was at least acknowledged, if not implicitly obeyed; above all, let the imperishable example of Anne du Bourg vindicate his contemporaries from the imputations too justly incurred by the succeeding age. Never could such men have sprung up among a radically depraved and corrupt society. Genius may be insulated and solitary, but there are virtues which represent the moral sensibilities and intellectual capacities of the people. Never were principles, such as actuated these high-minded, upright, benevolent men, derived from the schools of anarchy, or slavery, the reigns of terror and oppression, which prevailed under Charles the Ninth and his despicable successor. The champion of humanity might be found, but never was formed in the tempest that desolated France, and is still less to be discovered in that sullen calm which followed under Louis the Fourteenth, when the last struggle for the rights of conscience had ceased, and the iron tongue of despotism pronounced a requiem over the grave of civil and religious freedom.—The same causes which operated on national character, were likely to produce a deterioration equally rapid and remarkable in the manners of the French court. Under Francis and Henry, it preserved at least the semblance of order and decorum, and, according to the judgment of those

who then lived and flourished, was the school of politeness, decorum, and taste. Women were there found who participated in the learning of the other sex, and, equally by their talents and their virtues, diffused an inexpressible charm over the intercourse of domestic life: nor is it credible that female frailty should have been countenanced openly in a circle which could boast of such ornaments as the Princess Margaret, the exemplary Anne of Este, the noble-minded Dame de la Roye, and her amiable daughter Eleanor, the Princess of Condé, not to mention Antoinette of Bourbon, the austere wife of Montmorency; and other ladies, who, during the reign of Henry, maintained their ascendant in society. The most superficial view of the female costume will suffice to demonstrate that the ladies had not deviated from the modest style of Anne of Brittany;* and that it was reserved for Catherine de Medicis to introduce that meretricious style of dress, so often the theme of Calvinistic reprobation; but perhaps the strongest proof that could be adduced of subsequent perversion and corruption of manners, is the opposition of character exemplified in the three daughters of Catherine, of whom Elizabeth and Claude, both of unsullied virtue, were married before Henry's death; whilst of their sister Margaret, it may fairly be assumed that her levity of conduct originated in the

* See Montfaucon's *Monumens de la Monarchie Française.*

depraved habits and profligate principles which prevailed during the minority of her execrable brother.*

As it was in Henry's court that Mary Stuart was educated, and as it was from his country she imbibed those sentiments and opinions which probably gave the colour to her future destiny, it cannot be impertinent to take a cursory glance of that people; nor is it, perhaps, unpleasing for one moment to contemplate France, under a phasis never again to be exhibited, when the gigantic image of the old feudal monarchy was still seen lingering in the glorious morning light that suddenly broke on Europe, and the genius of departed ages seemed not to chide, but to welcome, the spirit of modern improvement. Although Henry possessed no personal qualities worthy to inspire esteem or admiration, his reign, as supplemental to that of Francis, acquires considerable interest; and, when contrasted with succeeding times, is mournfully endeared to remembrance. Though not the last of the race of Valois, we take in him our farewell look of primitive France, the land of the Franks, the gallant people renowned in song, glorious in arms, lovely in peace, warm-hearted, though proud and presumptuous, whose indigenous virtues of good faith and feudal hospitality were not spoiled, but ripened, by the arts of cultivation; with whom honour was passion, and loyalty, devotion.

* See the description of this Princess in a letter from Jane, Queen of Navarre, to her son, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

With Henry terminates the romantic era of French history; and it is scarcely possible to part with indifference from the brilliant and festive company, who basked with him in the sunshine of joy and prosperity, unconscious of the desolating tempest about to break on their devoted country; nor can we help giving a sigh to the reflection, that if with Francis the tide of national energy first rose, it was for Henry that it bore in triumph the "*fleet of poets*," (as Pasquier happily expresses it), rejoicing in their course. It was with Henry, too, that the bravest captains of the age became the most accomplished writers; and that women of illustrious rank, in imitation of the second Margaret (the King's sister), aspired to the patronage of genius, and without deserting the graces, erected an altar to the muses.

The reign of Henry was one bright speck among surrounding clouds of darkness: but never was so fair a spring so cruelly blasted,—never were the consequences of civil feuds and religious bigotry so fatally illustrated. It is, however, not to be denied, that those consequences might in part be referred to the original defects in the structure of the old monarchy; whose massive frame, coeval with barbarous times, was ill adapted to the exigencies of an adult and civilized nation, and whose imposing grandeur neither concealed, nor atoned for the inconveniences resulting from the positive and inflexible lines of demarcation which insulated the different orders

of society. Abstractedly considered, the sovereign was the central point of union; but in reality, the preponderance of particular over general interests, the want of a common principle of sympathy and co-operation, disturbed the harmony, and impeded the energies which are essential to the existence of a well-organized community.

The nobility of France* was not only subdivided into upper and lower classes, but even the princes of the blood, and lords of royal lineage, outnumbered the peerage of England, and the baronage of Scotland. The inferior nobility were already multiplied to a degree that excited astonishment and dissatisfaction in septuagenary censors, and appended to them was a constantly increasing class of gentry of the knightly order. The great princes, like independent chiefs, maintained their bands of military retainers. The great lords, in imitation of princes, displayed an almost equally prodigal magnificence. The poorer nobility became the satellites of the rich; but, with the exception of such as entered the church, they were all trained to arms, and from infancy imbued with a passion for martial glory.† In honour and loyalty was comprised the

* Laboureur.—Pasquier's *Recherches sur la France.*

† Brantome complains that the ceremony of accolation, once held so precious, was now vulgarized by the facility with which it was bestowed; knights and demoiselles having been multiplied till they had become more numerous than squires formerly were.—*Life of Charles the Eighth.*

soldier's moral code; and the veteran, with feudal simplicity, summed up in one faith,—one law,—one king, the compendious system of civil and religious policy. The sentiments of chivalrous gallantry which animated this military community, often prompted generous efforts and meritorious sacrifices, not unworthy to have been inspired by patriotism, or dictated by integrity. Even in the court, the progress of Machiavelian policy had not wholly effaced the love of truth. The name of the high-minded La Trimouille, the example of the heroic Bayard, were still dear and sacred; and those who aspired not to virtuous conduct, had at least sufficient feeling to offer the tribute of respect to virtuous fame. The prevalence of duels, however repugnant to reason and religion, evinced that jealous sense of honour in one sex, which is scarcely compatible with notorious dereliction of duty in the other; and the fatal combat of Chataigneraye and Jarnac affords sufficient proof that insinuations against a lady's chastity were only to be expiated with blood.*

* According to Vielleville, this duel originated in the malicious misconstruction of a speech which had been made by the Sieur de Jarnac to his friend Chataigneraye, the favourite of Henry the Second. Jarnac having owned that he was liberally supplied with money by his step-mother, Chataigneraye basely insinuated to Henry that he was her paramour. By that weak prince the slander was imparted to Diana de Poictiers, through whose means it became public. The young Jarnac challenged the author of the slander, who persisted in declaring that he received it from his own lips.

Enterprising and courageous, the citizens of Paris derived from their municipal rights and privileges, a lofty consciousness of participation in national greatness, which inspired corresponding sentiments of loyalty, patriotism, and fidelity. The church was here, as in other countries, an engine of stupendous power; but ecclesiastical tribunals were not omnipotent. For the convicted heretic was still reserved the privilege of appeal to the parliament, which often arrested arbitrary measures, and tempered those evils it could not wholly prevent.

The parliament,* though less numerous than even the higher

Vanquished in the conflict, he scorned to survive his degradation; and the man who was base enough to commit the crime of perjury, was too sensitive to endure the consciousness of infamy.

* "The reader must be cautioned against confounding the constitution of the parliament of France with that of the parliament of England. The origin of each is traced to the great national assemblies of the tribes who conquered the Roman empire. In almost every country where the feudal institutions have been established, the national council, under the name of states-general, cortes, plaids, great assizes, or parliament, or under some other name, was introduced, and gradually became composed of three states,—the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. Their functions were not only judicial, but, as their consent was necessary to give to the ordinances of the King the effect of law, they were also legislative. In course of time, the parliament of England became divided into its two houses, the Lords and Commons, and, together with the King, constituted the legislature of the nation. But its judicial power generally fell into disuse, except in cases which were brought before the House of Lords by appeal. The reverse happened in almost every country

class of nobility, and not constituting a distinct order in the state, seemed destined, in some measure, to repair the evils and counteract the mischief committed or prepared by them against society. Like the church, it was open to individuals of every class, but offered few temptations to the junior nobles, who preferred the affluence and dignity enjoyed by the superior clergy, to the laborious pursuits and moderate remuneration which awaited the legal student. No contrast could be more striking than that of the magnificent palace of the Bishop of Paris, with its voluptuous elegance of painting and decoration, and the simple household and frugal habits of the exemplary Chancellor Olivier, and the Judges who "sat in the hall from six in the morning till the beadle announced the hour of ten, when they went to dinner, afterwards resumed the hearing of causes till six in the afternoon, then retired to their homes to the recreation of study, to the luxury of books, and the society of their domestic friends."* It cannot be denied that the par-

on the continent. In them the parliament gradually lost its legislative authority, and subsided into a high court of justice, for the last resort, and court of royal revenue. It generally consisted of a fixed number of ecclesiastical peers, a fixed number of lay peers, and a fixed number of counsellors. All were equally judges, and had an equal right of giving their opinions, and an equal voice in their decrees. Such was the constitution of the French parliament, when L'Hopital was received into it."—*Life of Michael L'Hopital*, by Charles Butler.

* See *Life of Michael L'Hopital*, by Charles Butler.

liament of Paris, the supreme court of judicature, was sometimes polluted with error, venality, and chicanery; but it more often upheld the majesty of the laws, or asserted the rights of humanity, or defended its venerable prerogatives from the encroachments of a vicious government. Abuses and errors were indeed multiplied by the absurd practice of making official duties and legislative functions hereditary and transferable. A counsellor's robe was not unfrequently the son's patrimony or the daughter's dower; but *public opinion* pronounced against incompetent advocates, sordid magistrates, and venal judges; and the corrective influence which it thus exercised over society is a sufficient proof of the advances which had been made in refinement and civilization.

The Gallican clergy engrossed not, as in Scotland, the larger moiety of the landed possessions, and they preserved at least an exterior of decency and propriety in conduct. The sagacity of Francis, without resorting to the violent measures employed by Henry the Eighth, had discovered an expedient, almost equally useful, for converting ecclesiastical property to his own use, when, under pretence of restoring to ancient families the patrimony which by pious fraud had been alienated from their ancestors, he rewarded the services of his noble soldiers by giving them, *in commendam*, some of the richest sees and abbacies in the kingdom.* Whether this prince appeared

* The abuse furnished ground for complaint; but if we may credit

as the patron of letters, or the advocate of ecclesiastical despotism, he ever held the privileges of the church subordinate to the interests of the state, or rather to the predominance of the kingly prerogative. It was otherwise with his successor, who, though by nature kind, good-humoured, and debonair, had imbibed from certain bigots a predisposition to persecution, which anticipated the calculations of policy. Nor was this the only instance in which he betrayed his incompetence, by personal qualities, to correct, or even palliate, the defects in the political system. From his father he had confessedly received no lessons of economy; but he copied him rather in prodigality than munificence, when he bestowed on a female favourite, the celebrated Diana de Poictiers, an office comprising one of the most lucrative branches of the royal revenue,* an instance of facility which too plainly evinced how little he had learnt to command himself.

Under Louis the Twelfth, and Francis the First, the Princes of the blood, encircled by their noble satellites, had offered a lively representation of the Peers or Paladins of the elder monarchy; but from the moment of Henry's accession, they exhibited a sort of political tournament, in which the chiefs

Brantome, the lay incumbent generally devolved the duties of preaching and praying on humble, but not incompetent instructors.

* This was an office empowering her to demand a premium on all royal grants, offices, pensions; and also on all confiscations of property for heresy

of Bourbon and Lorrain were ever eager to enter the lists as challengers or defendants, leaving the King, the favourite and the minister to follow in their train, as aids and assistants.

Among those great corrivals who aspired to be the leaders of a party, the princes of Bourbon,* presuming on their affi-

* Extract from page 450, *of the Memoirs of Amelot d'Houssaye :*—"The House of Bourbon derives its descent from Robert, fourth son of St. Louis, who had for his portion the county of Clermont, in Beavoisis, and espoused Beatrice of Burgundy, who, in right of her mother, inherited the Barony of Bourbon; Beatrice had three sons, of whom the eldest, named Louis, erected the county into a Duchy.

"Matthew Paris, an English historian, pretends, that Robert having incurred the displeasure of the King, his father was, in consequence, deprived of the name of France, and compelled to substitute that of Bourbon, and that the offended Monarch even left a malediction on his son, praying God that the descendants of Robert might never possess the crown of France.

"The elder branch of the Bourbons ended in Susanna, only daughter of Messire Gilbert, whose brother was Charles, the celebrated Constable Bourbon, who died in rebellion to Francis the First, at the siege of Rome, 1527. The Duchess Anne, of France, is said to have given him, in marriage, her youthful daughter, to disappoint the wishes of the Countess d'Angouleme.

"The second branch of the House of Bourbon, called De la Marche or Carency, ended in Isabel de Bourbon, wife of Francis d'Escars, the Lord of Vaugion, and in Jane de Bourbon, wife of Francis de Roulen, Lord of Beauchamp. The branch of Francis de Bourbon, Count de St. Pol, son of Francis de St. Pol, and of Adriana, daughter of John Sire V. Estouteville, ended in Mary of Bourbon, his heiress, who, by marriage, transferred the estates of St. Pol to the House of Orleans, Longueville.

nity to the house of Valois, challenged certain exclusive rights and prerogatives, resenting, as an injury to themselves and their nation, the increasing favour and influence of the princes of Lorrain. Against these, it was alleged, that they were foreigners by descent, whom cupidity and ambition had drawn from the land of their fathers. Scarcely thirty years had elapsed since Claude, the first Duke of Guise, by the erection of a small territory into a principality, had obtained the privileges of a peer of France, a dignity afterwards enhanced by his nuptials with Antoinetta de Bourbon, the daughter of the Duke of Vendome, and cousin-german to Francis the First. It could not, however, be disputed that, lineally and collaterally, the House of Guise was one of the most illustrious in Europe; during many centuries, its representatives had not only preserved the rights of sovereignty in the duchies of Bar and Lorrain, but, by intermarriages, successively acquired pretensions to the kingdoms of Arragon and Naples, and certain districts in Anjou and Provence. Sixteen banners attest-

"The Counts of Vendome were descended from the Counts de la Marche and les Montpensiers, from the Counts de Vendome, who were created Dukes in 1515, in the person of Charles, son of Francis, Count of Vendome; Charles was the father of Anthony, who, by marriage, became King of Navarre, and father of Henry, who, by the extinction of the House of Valois, arrived at the crown. Exclusive of Anthony and Louis, there were living in 1549, the Count d'Enghien, the Cardinal Bourbon, also Margaret, Duchess of Nevers, and another brother."

ed the purity of their blood, whilst the history of Europe illustrated the valour, and exalted the glory of their descendants. The grandfather of Claude was René,* by courtesy acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence, but who, in reality, possessed little more than a small district in the south of France, besides his paternal territory of Bar and Lorrain. On his death, in 1502, this duchy descended to his eldest son Anthony, so well known for having been the first prince in Germany to take arms against the innovations of Luther, and to proclaim himself the champion of legitimacy and the Roman see.

After the death of René, his relict, Philippa of Gueldres, with whom he had lived thirty years in exemplary concord, renounced the world, and withdrew to a convent, where she consecrated her remaining days to austere devotion. Of their numerous progeny, only five sons attained maturity. John, the second, who had entered the church, obtained a cardinal's hat, and till the age of eighty, indulged the visionary hope of exchanging it for the sacred tiara: his two younger brothers were fated to meet death in the field of battle. In 1536, Claude espoused Antoinetta of Bourbon; and their auspicious union was crowned by the birth of six sons and two daugh-

* This René must not be confounded with his literary ancestor, who was a poet, a painter, and the author of a book of chivalry, who consoled himself for the loss of the kingdom of Naples by finishing a picture.

ters;* the former were equally divided between the church and the camp; whilst of the princesses, one became the Abbess of Rheims, and the other the Queen of James the Fifth, of Scotland. Of the House of Guise, it was observed, with truth, that with them fortune was outstripped by desert; and that their high rank was nobly sustained by pre-eminence of talents and accomplishments. Another characteristic of this family, and which rendered its influence truly formidable, was the immutable union that subsisted among its various members. The pride of ancestry was, in that age, carried to an excess, of which it is now difficult to form any adequate conception. In the artificial passion for ennobling an ancient stock, the private feelings and the natural sympathies of the individual appear to have been completely suspended; even personal ambition was often absorbed in speculations for emblazoning the hereditary escutcheon; for preserving uncontaminated the purity of kindred blood, and consolidating or extending the sway of collateral connexions. Hence the coalition of interests, without sympathy or affection, so often exemplified in

* According to Brantome; but Laboureur mentions four daughters, of whom two must have died in childhood. It should be observed, that René had been married to a princess, whom he repudiated, in order to marry Philippa. It has been pretended that Claude, the second son, attempted to disinherit his elder brother, on the ground of his having been born during the life of the first wife.

the princes of Lorrain; hence the sacrifices of inclination and individuality so cheerfully rendered to arbitrary and fantastic sentiments of duty, derived from feudal usage, and which, connecting, in a fictitious chain of association, the distinction claimed by the living, with the honours yielded to the dead, formed an imaginary point of greatness, which was, at once, pursued with the fervour of fanaticism, and the steadiness of political calculation. Of the House of Bourbon, the ostensible chiefs were Anthony, Duke of Vendome, afterwards King of Navarre, the young Cardinal Charles, eminently distinguished by his love of letters, the Count D'Enghien, and Louis, immortalized as the first prince of Condé;* but at the present moment the Bourbons could oppose no rival to James or Charles of Lorrain. Between these two belligerent parties, stood the Constable Montmorency, the first Baron of France,† the grand master, prime minister and confidant of Henry; a statesman, possessing perhaps as much probity, and patriotism, as could co-exist with unmeasured personal ambition, and who, when he forgot or suspended his anxious schemes for the exaltation of his family,

* There were also two other brothers, who both perished prematurely in the field.

† The proudest title of Montmorency was that of the first Christian Baron, founded on some legend of martyrdom, attributed to a remote progenitor; the heraldic crest presented a peacock spreading his train, with the motto "God aid the first Christian." See *Brantome.--Laboureur.*

evinced a solid and capacious judgment. Trained in the wars of Louis the Twelfth, he cherished the stately pomp, and, in some degree, even affected the austere decorum which had been introduced by that monarch's consort, Anne of Brittany. Of all the king's favourites, he took the lead in age, in dignity, and experience. As the former comrade of the illustrious Bayard, he was peculiarly entitled to the respect of Henry and his contemporaries, but it appears singular that he should have inspired in a youthful prince not merely esteem, but ardent and tender attachment; nor is it an unpleasing feature of the monarch's character, that after his elevation to the throne, he continued to cherish the veteran, who had been his master in war, not merely as a faithful minister, but as his chosen and familiar friend. Even disparity of years formed no barrier to their intimacy, and in reality the sage Montmorency, without countenancing, by his example, the irregularities of his sovereign, sympathized in many of his habits and tastes, was equally fond of luxury and state, passionately addicted to hawking, eager to possess Arabian horses, peacocks, the ger-falcons of Tunis, and other appendages of regal magnificence. There were also some negative points of union between the king and his minister, which endeared them to each other. Bred in the school of war, Montmoreney had never learnt to appreciate the value of classical attainments, and systematically withheld

from his sons that mental cultivation which his old feudal* prejudices taught him to deprecate as a patriot, and to despise as a soldier. Henry, on the contrary, had been fostered among scholars and philosophers, and in imitation of his father affected to patronize letters and the arts; but no culture can supply the deficiencies of nature. Without aptitude to study, he loved pomp and pageantry, and coveted "not the gifts of knowledge, but the reputation of munificence. Encircled by poets and artists, he caressed without appreciating the talents that shed a lustre on his court, and relished only such lays as celebrated the charms, or propitiated the smiles of his idolized" Diana de Poictiers. Nor was he more fastidious in the choice of his associates: naturally attracted to the brave, he instinctively recoiled from the learned or the witty, and found the society of Montmorency more congenial to his habits of indolence and hilarity than the brilliant conversation of the Princes of Guise, or even the luxurious prodigality of the Marechal St. André, the Lucullus of his day, who was notoriously the most rapacious and intriguing of courtiers. Between the Marechal and the Constable subsisted an inveterate jealousy, which was often destined to annoy their too facile sove-

* The patriots of that age deprecated the arts, whilst they stigmatized the vices of Italy; and the declension of morals in France was attributed to constant and familiar intercourse with the region beyond the Alps. See *Lettres* d'Etienne Pasquier. *Poesies* de Joachim du Bellay.

reign; but both these military competitors confessed the superior influence of a female leader, the Duchess of Valentinois, that celebrated widow, who, to the age of threescore, preserved her empire over the King's affections. It is singular that Henry should have selected, for his favourite of either sex, a person decidedly his elder; but his constancy, in both instances, might probably arise out of that indolence and diffidence of nature which left him passive to impressions and habits once received and successfully established. The charms of Diana were perhaps recommended by an ancient and illustrious lineage. Sprung from the house of St. Vallier, which traced its origin to the royal race of Lusignan, she had married the great Senechal of Normandy, in which province she continued to reside till after his death, when she presented herself at court, and finding in Henry an awkward shy youth of seventeen, undertook to form his character and manners on the model of the preux chevalier. Though Diana at this period approached her thirty-eighth year, she still possessed exquisite beauty, and soon inspired in her royal pupil an ardent and romantic passion, which by the superstition of the times was ascribed to the arts of sorcery. Habit and address confirmed that ascendant which she had originally acquired by personal charms and graceful manners; and such was the fascination she continued to exercise over Henry's mind, that, though notoriously inconstant to other women, he was to her devoted

with a truth, and loyalty, and submission, scarcely to be exceeded in the records of any court or parliament of love. It should, however, be observed, that in wearing her colours, and proclaiming himself her knight, he but adopted the common forms of platonic gallantry, and that the matronly age of Diana conspired, with her high birth, illustrious connexions, and unadulterated orthodoxy, if not to silence slander, at least to overawe reproach. Aware of the liberties which were taken with her reputation, she proclaimed defiance to malice, by assuming the symbols of the Goddess Diana, adding to her device a motto which intimated that she scorned terrestrial love.* In another age, such pretensions from a woman, who notoriously held despotic sway over a young voluptuous monarch, would have been repelled with contempt; but it should be remembered that the manners of this lady had been formed in the school of chivalry, whose spirit was not extinct, and whose platonic creed was still sanctified by the memory of the Knight,—*sans peur, sans reproche.* Even the learned Pasquier disdains not to dilate with complacency on the pretty tale of the heroic Bayard, and his spotless mistress, the incomparable dame de Fluxas.† At this period, too, the laws of honour

* I have vanquished the conqueror of the world.

† At the court of the Duke of Milan, Bayard was invited by this lady, who had been the object of his first attachment, to enter the lists at a tournament, and challenge homage for the charms of the Duchess of Milan. Bayard having, unknown to the dame de Fluxas,

both justified and dictated reciprocations of confidence and fidelity; and to have rejected such liberal tenets would have been held derogatory to high birth, and to those magnanimous sentiments which were conceived to belong exclusively to the privileged orders. The composed dignity of Diana's manners countenanced the persuasion of her correct conduct, which it was found convenient to adopt, by those who, like the Constable, were solicitous to advance their interests without compromising their respectability; and thus protected by the triple shield of rank, alliances, and decorum, she equally maintained her ground against calumny and truth, not only living in regal splendour, but presiding with maternal authority over young ladies of illustrious birth, whose education was committed to her especial care and superintendence. The Duke de Bouillon and the Count, afterwards Duke d'Aumale, had each sought and obtained the honour of being her son-in-law, and she once

purloined the sleeve of her gown, entered the lists, fought, conquered, and by the decree of the judges, of whom one was her husband, the Chevalier de Fluxas, was declared worthy of the prize. Upon which Bayard, producing the sleeve, protested that the prize was due only to the Dame de Fluxas, by whom he had been stimulated to the achievement. At this declaration the ingenuous chevalier cordially embraced the knight, whose honour, like that of the lady, stood beyond reproach. But the young matron discreetly exacted from her champion a solemn promise, never to celebrate her beauty at any future tournament, and from that hour Bayard ceased to designate her as his lady or mistress.

rejected with scorn an officious proposal, to procure for her daughters such privileges as were granted to the young Duchess de Castro, the king's natural daughter, exclaiming, "Is it not better to be the legitimate descendant of the Seneschal of Normandy, than the base-born offspring of a king?"

But whatever difference of opinion might exist with regard to Diana's pretensions to purity, no suspicion could rest on the orthodox zeal, with which, on all occasions, she defended the Romish hierarchy against the attacks of reformers:* as little was it to be doubted that her influence was strenuously exerted to determine the king by vigorous measures to arrest the progress of Calvinism in France, and that she was stimulated to the task by the young cardinal, Charles of Lorrain, who, from motives of policy, espoused the cause which the Seneschal sustained with unsophisticated bigotry. Thus fortified by the party whom she secretly protected, Diana became the *primum mobile* of those political measures ostensibly conducted by the princes of Guise, of which one of the first, and in its consequences the most important, was the marriage-treaty between the Dauphin Francis and the Queen of Scots, which, with her

* That her bigotry was sincere cannot be doubted, since even after Henry's death she disinherited her eldest daughter, who, having married into the protestant family of La Marche, had embraced the new principles. The Duke d'Aumale, who had married the younger daughter, generously disdaining to avail himself of her injustice, shared the property with his sister-in-law.—See Laboureur.

assistance, had been accomplished, in opposition to the Constable, whose jealousy was alarmed by the ominous encroachments of the house of Lorrain. At this moment, however, he had little reason to distrust the permanence of his own supremacy, and, independent of personal influence, he was collaterally supported by his three nephews, the Sieurs De Chatillon, to whom the sovereign was tenderly attached. Of these, the eldest was Odet, well known as the Cardinal Chatillon, and justly celebrated for his literary attainments; his younger kinsman, the brave d'Andelot, was afterwards eminently distinguished among the champions of Calvinism. Of the other brother, born to be *the glory and the shame of France*, it is enough to say, that he already evinced qualities worthy of the immortal reputation which has descended to Admiral Coligny. In his two junior nephews, the Constable was proud to see revived the intrepidity and honourable enthusiasm of those renowned chiefs, pre-eminent in his youthful days, Gaston de Foix, and the Chevalier Bayard. But the wary statesman began to recognise in Coligny an intractable spirit of honour, when he found that no entreaties could induce him to court an alliance with one of the heiresses of the great Seneschal; and that he even carried this romantic delicacy so far as to dissuade his friend, Francis, Duke d'Aumale, from submitting to become the son-in-law of a woman of equivocal

reputation.* In the sequel, the princes of Guise were less scrupulous; and the marriage of a younger brother with one of those nobly portioned demoiselles de Breze, secured to their house the protection of Diana, and, consequently, the friendship of her obsequious sovereign.

Amidst the incessant conflicts of party and favouritism, it was impossible but that the interests of the state should be sacrificed to the selfish passions of its rulers; and, alternately, surrendered to ambition, or bartered for mercenary calculation. Each of these chiefs not only exercised sovereignty himself, but delegated it to his dependants, to whom he was compelled to intrust its functions. It was notorious that the Constable (and afterwards, the Admiral, Coligny) possessed, uncontrolled, the government of a distant province, furnished with troops, and ammunition, and subjected to his absolute disposal. In a political system so ill organized, the most scrupulous sentiments of loyalty and honour could alone preserve public tranquillity.

The magnificence of a court is no index of national prosperity. The imagination is dazzled with the scenes of splendour perpetually changing and renewed, which were exhibited

* This advice is by Coligny's enemies ascribed to the sinister motive of wishing to deprive Francis of Lorrain of an advantageous alliance; but the whole tenor of Coligny's life repels the insinuation, and the undisputed fact that he resisted his uncle's entreaties to marry Mademoiselle de la Breze, is sufficient for his vindication.

by Henry the Second, amidst his hundred princes (each supported by his corps of warriors),—his train of nobles, superb as the satraps of Persia, with their domestic satellites and military retainers—the junior nobility, all brave, and sparkling with the enthusiasm of youth, or animated with martial rivalry. Wherever the court moved, it presented the same lumnious phasis, and was constantly hailed with joy and triumph; plenty and festivity were its harbingers, and, as if aided by some necromantic agency, seven sumptuous tables were duly served to the superior companies of the royal household, and a magnificent ordinary provided for many hundreds of subordinate attendants. But the court reflected not the image of the country, where immense forests, tenanted by fierce animals, infested the villages, impeding the course of industry and civilization; whilst feudal restrictions and oppressive imposts checked the labours, and intercepted the rewards of agriculture. The habits of the people were sordid and penurious; the national spirit of enterprise, exhausted by foreign wars, overlooked the more obvious advantages that might have been realized in promoting inland commerce, and domestic manufacture; and we learn from the statistics of the day, that, for want of facilities of communication, the produce of one province was rendered inaccessible to the inhabitants of the other; and, though the orange-tree was familiarized to the royal gardens, no other esculent plants were known to the

poor peasant beyond the indigenous fruits of his own half-cultivated country.*

* According to Champier, an enlightened physician, who flourished in the sixteenth century, there was a very perceptible difference in the modes and habits of life, which were observed to prevail in the north, the south, and the intermediate provinces. Necessity and expediency having introduced this diversity of tastes and aptitudes in the people. "Thus," says Champier, "the celebrated cheese of Auvergne had became the staple article of consumption with its poorer inhabitants, whilst in Perigord, the Limosin, and the mountainous districts of the Lyonnois, chesnuts and radishes were considered the first necessities of life, and even with people of easy circumstances, the former furnished a substitute for bread, which was usually reserved for gala days. In Artois and Hainault," continues Champier, "beer and milk are supplied in abundance. Pork and other viands are cheap and plentiful. The arts of confectionary are duly cultivated, and the liberality of nature offers a temptation to drunkenness and gluttony which few can resist; not only men, but even women, glory in taking copious draughts; and it is remarked, that as this propensity increases towards the frontier of Flanders, it diminishes as you approach the confines of Picardy. A striking dissimilarity is visible in Upper and Lower Brittany. The latter, called Britons Britonnants, have not only a foreign language, but ferocious manners, and what is still worse, are addicted to plunder; whilst the former, generally speaking, possess the true spirit of French urbanity. The wine they drink is the produce of their own vintage, and they feed chiefly on fish, fruits, and pastry. In Gascony, people of every class are extravagantly addicted to the use of garlick and onions. In the variety and abundance of its productions, Provence yields to no part of the kingdom; but in habits and manners it falls far short of the common standard of civilization;

In the moral, as in the physical aspect of France, we shall discover the same humiliating contrast of bigotry opposed to intelligence, ignorance to knowledge, superstition to genuine piety; and whilst in certain classes and individuals the principles of civilization appear to have been completely developed, in the mass of people inveterate prejudices and frantic passions usurped the place of reason, and obstinately resisted the progress of improvement.

Throughout the reign of Henry the Second, there appears to have been an unremitted, though unequal struggle between the good and bad principles which intermingled in the political system. The triumphant establishment of the Reformation in other countries, excited alarm in all who believed, that to correct, or even to speak of abuses, was to sap the foundation of the church and state, and that the prosperity of the kingdom depended on

little meat is consumed in this country, with the exception of the kid, which is universally eaten. They consume much fish, of which the Mediterranean offers an abundant supply. They prefer to everything preserved capers and olives. Figs and grapes, citrons, oranges, and lemons, are served at table. As among the Spaniards, all their sauces are prepared with oil, butter being unknown. The Burgundians pass for the greatest eaters in France: and with them is popular the proverb, 'that good meat is better than fine clothes.' In the interior of the kingdom," continues Champier, "the manners of the people are milder. They make better cheese, and in general are more regular in their habits of life."—Extract from Champier, inserted in "*La Vie Privée des François*," par Le Grand D'Aussy.

preservation of the Romish hierarchy. Blind to the fatal consequences of sanguinary persecution, the partisans of despotism and bigotry proposed the erection of an ecclesiastical power of paramount authority with the Inquisition, whose tribunals had never been recognised in France, and whose exclusive supremacy was abhorrent to its ancient laws and institutions. In this instance, the liberal members of the parliament strenuously opposed the registration of that fatal edict which rendered the decisions of ecclesiastical tribunals equally absolute with the clergy and laity. In the following remonstrance, addressed to Henry and his court, we are presented with such sound and humane arguments as would not discredit the legislators and philanthropists of the present day; nor, for the honour of Catholicism, should it be forgotten that these advocates of toleration were men of orthodox principles, who were not even suspected of a tendency to Luther or Calvin, and whose abhorrence of persecution was alone founded on that strong sense of justice and humanity which forms the best and noblest characteristic of national civilization.

The speech alluded to, began by reminding the King of the undisputed rights which the parliament possessed to respect and consideration.

"Your parliament, Sire," said the President Seguier, "is composed of a hundred and sixty magistrates, who have not been permitted to assume their functions without having

evinced their competence to the trust, and produced attestations of their principles and conduct; such, in short, is the constitution of this assembly, that to replace its members would exceed the bounds of your Majesty's power. Where then is the individual, however gifted or enlightened, who shall dare to oppose his solitary judgment to the opinions of a hundred and sixty men, constantly inured to the study of our laws, and incessantly occupied with the arduous duty of discriminating what is just and legal, from that which is illicit and interdicted?" After having repelled the insinuation, that the advocates of toleration were disguised heretics, Seguier insisted on the high and absolute prerogatives they had acquired by their election. "It is for you, Sire, to name the magistrates by whom you are to be represented in the sacred functions of justice; their decisions are announced in your name, and having once conferred on them this mark of confidence, you have invested them with a right of which you cannot even partially deprive them, without prejudice to your own authority; for how shall their decrees induce or extort obedience from inferior magistrates, or the nation at large, if it shall once be supposed that they have been pronounced by men whose principles are suspected, and who are themselves in contravention with the laws of the state? It is then too clear, that the pernicious counsels which have been instilled into the

royal mind, directly tend to subvert order, and bring contempt on the supreme authority."

With equal intrepidity Seguier repelled those invidious suspicions of the parliament, which had been grounded on its opposition to the establishment of the Inquisition. "If those who thus speak refer to us as private individuals, I dare pronounce they are grossly deceived. Not one of our body has any motive for personal fear. We all know, that this violent remedy may be employed with some chance of success in inveterate maladies of the state, when all other means have been tried in vain, and that it might even not be without use in ordinary cases, if it were never to be administered but by men, enlightened and beneficent, superior to passion and inaccessible to prejudice.

"History informs us, that such an agency was employed by certain Roman emperors, to crush the rising sect of Christians; but we also learn, that by wiser princes the expedient was rejected with horror; and that the Trajans, the Marci Aurelii of their age, though zealous for the errors of paganism, protested it was better to wait till the Christians should be convicted of other crimes, than, by fostering a brood of delators, to spread terror and distrust through domestic society.

"Hitherto, we have spoken but as private individuals, by whom the name of the Inquisition cannot even be pronounced without dismay and grief; but in the character of magistrates,

or rather as those public functionaries whom your Majesty has appointed to resist oppression, and to see that justice be duly administered, we deprecate, or rather we abhor the establishment of that tribunal of blood, in which information takes place of legal proofs, which deprives the accused of all natural means of defence, and supersedes even the common forms of a judicial process. In stating this objection, we advance nothing that cannot be substantiated by recent example.

"Amongst the numerous appeals that have lately been made from the ecclesiastical tribunals to the parliament, it has fallen to our lot to revise former processes, in which we have too often detected such palpable absurdity and folly, as could only spring from ignorance, or malice the most execrable; and is it to such judges, Sire, that by withholding the privileges of appeal, you would deliver, bound and fettered, your faithful subjects? But reflect whether you have really the right so to transfer their obligations to obedience. The same ties which bind one party, attach the other. If they owe to you the Tailles, the Aides, and the Gabelle, on your part you are pledged to afford them safety and protection; nor can one of the poorest subjects forfeit the undisputed privilege to invoke your aid, whenever he shall find himself aggrieved, since it is the King who is supposed to preside in our supreme court of judicature, and since it is only in the name of Henry that they are legitimated. What then is the drift of this edict, but to

make you a stranger to your country, to alienate your subjects, to abrogate even that sacred contract by virtue of which you hold the sceptre? Hitherto we have recognised but one monarch in France, whose authority, though somewhat impeded and always opposed by a foreign power, has triumphed over the temptations and snares of superstition. In compelling us to register this edict, you will destroy the work of five centuries; and not only shall the state be exposed to new convulsions, but you must cease to be the sole legislator of your kingdom. No longer shall the criminal law be administered by your judges, or according to your ordonnances; in one word, you will have armed against yourself a rival, hereafter to become a master."

Seguier then proceeded to refer the true causes of heresy to the abuses which had imperceptibly been admitted to the church, and to the relaxed morals and mundane spirit of the bishops, of whom few resided in their dioceses, or discharged their pastoral duties.

"The religion, Sire, that you would maintain in your estates was not planted by the agency of fire or sword; for these were actually the enemies which it resisted during three centuries; gaining vigour from opposition, and finally triumphing over every effort for its destruction. On the contrary, our religion, Sire, was planted by holy bishops, by vigilant pastors, who tended their flocks, replenished it with the divine word, edi-

fied it by their example, and, with heroic courage, defended it from ravenous wolves. If by these means Christianity first took root, by these alone can it be regenerated. No longer, then, delay to dismiss the bishops and curates to their proper duties of residence and vigilance. It is no new task that you enjoin them; the celebrated constitutions of Justinian long since enforced on them the obligation, and if that emperor, who was neither devout nor scrupulously orthodox, perceived the necessity of promulgating salutary ordonnances, on what pretext shall the Most Christian King, the eldest son of the church, exonerate himself from the sacred duty?

"It is not alone by human laws or imperial rescripts that residence has been enjoined on bishops. The Holy Scriptures first promulgated the law, repeatedly enforced in the canons of general councils. It is a law founded on the word of God; it is a right sustained by divine authority; and whoever should maintain the contrary would be worse than *Luther*. Begin not then, Sire, by giving to the nation an edict which shall fill your kingdom with mourning, which must be registered in the blood, and recorded by the tears of your faithful subjects. Of these, the greater part are far removed from your presence, devoted to rustic labours, or absorbed in mechanical occupations. At this awful crisis they remain in profound ignorance of all that is preparing against them; nor do they

even suspect that you, the father of your people, are about to withdraw their natural safeguard."

Hitherto, this speech had been received in sullen silence, when Seguier, suddenly turning to the council, among whom he recognised the Duke of Guise, the Constable Montmorency, Cardinal Lorrain, and the venal Bertrand,* addressed to them pointedly the following energetic remonstrance:—

"And you, gentlemen, who listen with placid indifference, relying on your own exemption from the deprecated evil, cease to indulge the dreams of chimerical security. In the golden days of your prosperity, when wealth and honour are profusely showered upon your head, all are eager to court your smiles, and none presume to impeach your conduct. But little can he know of history, who is not prepared for the revolutions of fortune; the more sublime your elevation, the nearer you approach to the thunder. At present, indeed, though you should be destined to experience a fall from greatness, you would, at least, have the consolation to retire with property, such as might in part console you for other privations, and which you would reasonably expect to transmit to your posterity. But no sooner shall this edict be registered, than your position will be completely changed. In descending from greatness, you will be superseded by necessitous and

* Who had superseded the virtuous Chancellor Olivier, in the functions of chancellor.

rapacious men, eager to avail themselves of the facilities which the existing laws may offer for obtaining the confiscation of your property, and enriching themselves with the spoils. Nor will it cost them much to achieve their purpose, since, with the aid of one inquisitor and two witnesses, they shall be able to prove that you are heretics, and, though you should be pure as the holy saints, consign your bodies to the devouring flames."*

At these words, the Constable Montmorency was observed to change colour; his colleagues shuddered; the King himself, surprised and confused, forgot to frown, and quietly dismissed the President, with a gracious intimation, that the edict should be revised; and, in reality, such was the effect produced by this well-timed appeal to the passions of the ministers, that during three years the registration was suspended.

In comparing this spirited and sensible remonstrance of the *judicial* parliament of Paris, with the general tenor of those submissive and adulatory discourses addressed to their Sovereign, by the Commons of England, it is impossible not to be impressed with the mental superiority which the former possessed,

* The above is extracted from a speech which was delivered at Villars Cotterets (in 1555) by the President Seguier, in the presence of Henry and his principal ministers.—See Garnier's *Histoire de France*, tome 13.

and which can only be referred to the auspicious progress of literature and intellectual cultivation, and the influence which public opinion had in France obtained over a certain portion of society.

But it is one of those truths which history is destined to teach, that the most precious and beneficent blessings of civilization cannot be communicated where the mass of the people remains enslaved by ignorance and prejudice; and that even the moral character must inevitably be vitiated by the privations or sufferings, the oppression or debasement, inseparable from a state of political degradation. Hence those civil dissensions and the malignant passions engendered with them, the factions and crimes of which religious hostility was hereafter to be the fruitful and pernicious source—that corruption and perversion of feeling, of which free and enlightened men are scarcely susceptible, the revolting cruelties which superstition sanctified, and ignorance approved—the animosities, the virulence, the ferocity, which, but for the absence of all rational principles of liberty and toleration, never could have existed. Happy had it been for France, to have participated in those municipal rights and popular institutions which in England were gradually developed, and which formed eventually the basis of its moral dignity and political prosperity.

CHAPTER III.

RECEPTION OF MARY IN FRANCE.—SKETCHES OF THE COURT.—MARRIAGE OF ANTHONY BOURBON AND JANE OF NAVARRE.—CHARACTER OF ANNE OF ESTE.—SPLENDID NUPTIALS WITH FRANCIS OF LORRAIN.—CORONATION OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS.—PUBLIC ENTRY OF HENRY INTO PARIS.—PUBLIC ENTRY OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS.—NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF ROYAL PERSONAGES IN THE PROCESSION.—SKETCHES OF THE THREE COLIGNYS.—THE AUTO-DA-FÉ.—APPLAUDED BY THE PEOPLE.

THE arrival of Mary* at Brest was unquestionably an important epoch in her life. Hitherto, by her mother's judicious care, she had lived with her *Maries* in the most endearing familiarity; but this sisterly communion was in a manner dissolved, when she found herself, by Henry's orders, invested with the sacred prerogatives of sovereignty. To whatever place she came, the prison gates were thrown open to all criminals, save those convicted of heresy and treason, and for her sake the most miserable outcasts were restored to life, to hope,

* According to an authority few will dispute, that of Mr. Chalmers, she arrived at Brest on the 14th of August. Ribier, *Mémoires et Lettres d'Etat;* where the order exists for liberating all prisoners save those suspected of heresy or treason, in honour of the young Queen of Scots.

to liberty. It was impossible, but that this mark of homage should have excited lively emotions in her infant mind, such as no judicious preceptor, whose attention was exclusively devoted to the character of the individual, would have wished to call forth. But the education of a prince cannot be conducted on simple principles; and if from this showy and apparently senseless pageantry, associations were created in the breast of the royal pupil, favourable to the exercise of mercy and humanity, it was no frivolous nor unworthy lesson that was given to the future sovereign. Amidst these honours and rejoicings the Scottish party proceeded leisurely to St. Germain-en-Laye,* where, in the absence of Henry and his Court (who were making a progress through the Southern provinces), accommodation had been provided for their numerous company. For Mary herself, a domestic residence might easily have been found in the magnificent palace of her grandfather Claude, Duke of Guise, or in the Abbey of Rheims, in which her maternal aunt presided as abbess; but the King of France having officially announced by circular letters† her engagement with the Dauphin, and pledged himself to educate her with his own daughters, it became a part of honour and propriety that she should not be withdrawn

* This palace had been erected by Francis the First, and became, from its convenient vicinity to the capital, a favourite residence with Henry the Second.

† Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*, tome premier.

from his immediate protection, and she was accordingly conducted to a convent, dedicated (says Conæus) to the blessed Virgin, in which were usually placed girls of royal or illustrious birth, during the elementary stages of education.* That this arrangement was but a temporary expedient, is evident from the census which Henry caused to be taken of the noble Scottish families residing in France, from whom he directed a select number to be chosen for the young Queen's future household.

The liberality of this procedure was acceptable to the Scots, and at the French Court it was represented as an action worthy of the chivalrous spirit which had impelled the King to volunteer to two oppressed Queens, a desolate widow and a persecuted orphan, his disinterested friendship and protection. Such was the language of the court, and of the circle of Diana de Poictiers, to which Henry listened, till he perhaps forgot the cogent political reasons which had prompted his interference; nor did his favourites remind him, that the object of those naval and military reinforcements which he had sent into Scotland, was notoriously to harass his hereditary English rivals, and

* This convent is by some supposed to have been at St. Germain-en-Laye; as, however, Mary resided in it but a few months, this is a matter of small importance. It should also be observed, that Lesley, who was Mary's contemporary, thought this retreat not worth notice, whilst Conæus, who lived fifty years after, dwells on it with much interest.

effectually to impede a consolidated union between the sister kingdoms. The vanity of his countrymen was flattered by the sublime character ascribed to their monarch, and the name and cause of Mary Stuart became popular with all but the princes of Bourbon, and the opponents of their rival kinsmen of Guise. In the number of malcontents were associated the Constable and Catherine de Medicis; the statesman contending that the crown of Scotland would be an acquisition too dearly purchased by wars with England; whilst by the Queen it was opposed from that keen feeling of egotism which rendered her hostile to whatever was calculated to exalt the princes of Lorrain, whom she both dreaded and hated as the allies of Diana de Poictiers. But, whatever might be the petty feuds of rivalship, all parties united in lavishing demonstrations of affection on the young princess; and, from the southern extremity of France, Henry himself addressed congratulatory letters,* which cordially welcomed her to his country. In pursuing Mary's career, it may be allowed, or rather it is exacted of her biographer, to take a comprehensive glance of the French Court, which was composed of personages eminent in their day, and whose habits, principles, and opinions, had unquestionably an important influence in the formation of her future character. Even in the absence of the sovereign, her infant senses must have been dazzled and overwhelmed with

* Ribier.

the magnificence of her entertainment; nor can it be doubted that the description of Henry's celebrated entry into Lyons reached the sanctuary of her convent, whose inmates, being chiefly persons of quality, were neither abstracted from the world, nor indifferent to its imposing vanities.

To that celebrated city, of which, from its position, the aspect was almost Italian, wealth and commerce had introduced an excess of splendour and luxury unknown in any other town in France, whilst traditional associations fostered in the inhabitants a veneration for classical antiquity, inflamed by the desire of emulating their transalpine neighbours.

To receive the new Monarch, a spectacle was prepared, such as Rome might have offered to a returning conqueror. Triumphant arches were erected in the streets, through which marched several companies of foreign merchants, the Genoese, the Florentines, the Milanese, and the Germans, all superbly attired according to national costume.

Of this splendid scene voluminous details were published by contemporary writers. Not content with the momentary and popular impression produced by a royal triumph, the monarchs of that age expected, through the medium of the press, to transmit to posterity the memory of their ephemeral honours. The elaborate descriptions of Henry's chroniclers may still satisfy the industrious antiquary, in whom curiosity and diligence supersede the refinements of delicacy and taste;

whilst the lively pen of Brantome recalls from oblivion the admired exhibition of twelve wrestlers, who, personating Roman gladiators, combated before the court without shedding blood, or even lacerating the white satin tunics in which they were habited. The same writer has recorded the incongruous association of pagan deities with the Romaunt of chivalry, and the introduction of the goddess Diana in compliment to Diana de Poictiers. A memorial of the naumachia, or sea-fight, has been preserved by the same writer, with the unutterable panic it created in the ladies and courtiers,* who were stunned with its reiterated explosions; but the only part of the entertainment really worthy of commemoration, was the importation from Italy of a new species of masque, in which singing, music, and dancing, combined with action, formed the rudiments of the Italian opera, afterwards fondly cultivated at Paris.

It was to Cardinal D'Este, the brother of Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, that the court owed this agreeable novelty. That prince, who had lately conducted into France his beautiful

* It may, however, be doubted, whether even the wrestlers afforded Henry so much pleasure as the hundred Swiss, who, as Vincent Cartoix relates, met him on his tour at St. Jean Morrienne, disguised as bears; and so aptly did they imitate the forms, the antics, and even the dissonant roar of those uncouth animals, that the horses of the cavaliers took fright, and the whole company were thrown into confusion. These tricks were perfectly to the king's taste.

niece, contracted to the celebrated Francis of Lorrain, afterwards Duke of Guise, was less addicted than other prelates of his age and country to political intrigue, and conferred a real benefit on the French court by introducing to it an elegant and innocent recreation.

Amidst these scenes of festivity and triumph, there was one lady to whose aching heart the sound of mirth and joy was dissonant, and whose deep dejection, though little commiserated, could not wholly escape observation. The individual, thus abstracted from present objects, was an accomplished princess, who, but twenty years before, had seen herself the idol of the court and the darling of the people,—the beloved sister of Francis the First, Margaret Queen of Navarre. History has immortalized the courageous affection with which that high-spirited woman, after the fatal battle of Pavia, flew to Madrid to console the captive monarch, and to revive in his despairing soul the precious hopes so necessary to prolong existence; but history records not the secret chagrins and anxieties to which she was afterwards devoted by the policy of her despotic brother, who, in return for those never-to-be-forgotten services, committed an outrage on her maternal feelings, by affiancing her only child, Jane, the heiress of Navarre, to the Duke of Cleves, a German Prince, in whose dominions she must have been consigned to eternal banishment from her native country.

These espousals were publicly solemnized by proxy, but in consideration of the bride's extreme youth, she was permitted to remain some years at Paris under her mother's protection. In the sequel, circumstances having arisen to disturb the intimacy of Francis and the Duke of Cleves, the marriage treaty was cancelled; but scarcely had Margaret exulted in her daughter's liberation, than another son-in-law was imposed on her acceptance, for whom she conceived an insuperable aversion, although the individual now selected was the first prince of the blood, Anthony, Duke of Vendôme, who was handsome and accomplished, and completely master of her daughter's affections. Although experience might have taught Margaret that resistance must be unavailing, she persisted in withholding her consent from the lovers, and the death of Francis revived in her the nearly-relinquished hope of annulling their engagement; but prudence allowed not Henry to affront the illustrious house of Bourbon, by depriving its chief of an alliance not more desirable to himself than advantageous to France.

The repugnance of Margaret was not, however, to be overcome. Oppressed with fantastic terrors, she deferred till the last moment to sign the nuptial contract, which was blotted with her tears; and then hastily withdrawing to her own apartment, consumed in solitude and grief the hours which should have been devoted to joy and festivity. She survived

this event but one year, and her closing days presented a mournful and humiliating contrast to that brilliant season of her youth, when she delighted to foster talents, and to disseminate liberal opinions, and was the protectress of Marot, and the friend of Anne Boleyn. As, in common with many other enlightened scholars of that day, she was addicted to judicial astrology, it appears not improbable, that her antipathy to the alliance with the house of Bourbon originated in some sinister prediction. If the deep regrets which she testified for her daughter's marriage, flowed from disappointed ambition, they furnish a strong illustration of the fallacy of human anticipations, since, within few years, the offspring of Jane and Anthony ascended the throne of France.

The character of Anthony, when fully developed, was precisely such as might have justified a mother's prejudice. Vain, volatile, and presuming, with talents unequal to his pretensions; brave, but vacillating; often betrayed by imprudence and prodigality to folly and meanness, he was notoriously a faithless lover and inconstant husband, a fickle friend and inconsistent statesman. A few months destroyed Jane's dream of romantic happiness, but her character became gradually matured, and this princess, once gay, volatile, and impetuous, displayed, during a long series of trials and privations, a devotion to principle, a fortitude and magnanimity, which justly have placed her among the first women of any age or

country. Living with her father, Henry d'Albret, in Navarre, and with him associated in superintending the education of her son, she instilled into his mind the Calvinistic principles, which she had herself imbibed, and with them some generous sentiments never wholly to be effaced.

If Henry the Fourth owed to his grandfather those habits of simplicity and hardihood, by which he was prepared to struggle with future difficulties, he was at least indebted for certain traits of frankness and magnanimity to the precepts and example of a meritorious and beloved mother.

The nuptials of Anthony and Jane had been celebrated in the town of Moulins; from thence the court proceeded to St. Germain-en-Laye, of which, during a few days, the young Queen of Scots appears to have formed the only theme of conversation. Henry and Catherine vied with each other in lavishing on their infant guest caresses and applauses, and the example was eagerly imitated by obsequious courtiers.* But as this intoxicating incense could not long be administered to a child in her sixth year; she was again dismissed, with her Maries and Scottish attendants, to her convent, and to the gentle but insinuating sway of her spiritual directors, who sedulously instilled into her tender mind, with an abhorrence of heretical pravity, sentiments of filial veneration for the authority of the Roman pontiff.

* See Conæus in Jebb.

Among the whimsical incongruities of that age, was the grave demeanour imposed on children, and the puerile gayeties permitted to adult and sometimes aged courtiers.

Whilst Mary Stuart and her future consort, the little Dauphin, were already tutored to speak by rote on religious and political subjects, far beyond their faculties of comprehension, and to assume a gravity of manners which marred the artless graces of childhood, their elders were perpetually engaged in pursuits of that frivolous cast, which, to be relished or excused, should seem to require the vivacity and thoughtlessness of undisciplined youth.

The immense number of persons living together in habits of familiar communion, the *three hundred ladies*,* who occupied one half of the royal apartments; the assemblage of knights, lords, and princes, who had each to keep his allotted station, all this excess of luxury and magnificence, created a constantly increasing necessity for excitement and amusement; and eagerly was every pretext seized for introducing a procession, a banquet, a masqued ball, a ballet, or above all, a tournament. A declaration of war was anticipated with joy, as the precursor of a spectacle, and a treaty of peace welcomed with gratitude as the signal for the renewal of pleasure.

The year 1549 was eminently felicitous in furnishing occasion for exhibitions of gayety and splendour. Of these the

* Brantome.

first was the marriage of Francis of Guise, Duke d'Aumale, with Anne of Este, the eldest daughter of Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, and Renée of France,* a princess whom her maternal descent endeared to the Parisian people. It had been the fate of her mother Renée to taste deeply of the chagrins which, in her sex especially, attach to a royal station. Bred in the court of Francis, she had, in common with his sister Margaret, imbibed a predilection for the new opinions, which by her bigoted consort, the Duke of Ferrara, were repelled as absurd, or even stigmatized as criminal. Renée possessed a vigorous and cultivated understanding, benevolent dispositions, and magnanimous sentiments; but she was utterly destitute of those personal attractions, with which she might have hoped to soften if she could not elevate the character of her sordid and splenetic husband. Devoted to the Pope, that obsequious vassal of the church, to testify his disapprobation of his wife's opinion, not only deprived her of the honours due to her rank, but even excluded her from the society of her children. But the spirit of Renée was not to be subdued by injurious treatment; she steadily refused to disclaim the convictions of her deliberate judgment,† and neither the admonitions of her confessor,

* Daughter of Claude of France, and Francis of Valois.

† In Rabelais's letters, written during his travels in Italy, some allusion is made to the domestic dissensions subsisting between the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara. The latter, though deprived of her French attendants, retained an ardent attachment to her native

the injunctions of the Pope, nor even the menaces of her churlish lord, nor future captivity, would alter her resolution Amidst the cheerless gloom created by domestic discord, Anne, the eldest daughter of Renée, had received an education worthy of her native talents, and of the princely line to which Tasso and Ariosto have communicated a portion of their own immortality. The principal superintendent of her studies was the Countess Soubise, the most accomplished female scholar of the day, and whose pretensions to literature, even in a learned age, were admitted by men eminently distinguished by classical attainments.

In the court of Ferrara, at that period the most intellectual if not the most elegant in Europe, letters and the arts

country. She secretly protected Marot and other apostates from the church, and by this temerity provoked fresh insults from her imperious consort and his spiritual counsellors. According to Brantome, she sometimes murmured at the Salique law, by which herself and her children had been excluded from even presumptive claims to the crown of France. Her complaints were but too well justified by the harsh usage she experienced, with the consent, if not the connivance, of her brother-in-law, Francis, and long after her daughter's marriage, at the instigation of Henry II., or rather of his ecclesiastical ministers. In Laboureur's Additions to Castelnau is a curious letter, addressed by this considerate kinsman to the Duke of Ferrara, admonishing him to banish from the palace, to degrade from her rank, and even to imprison, his aunt Renée, if she persisted in her contumacy.—See an extract from Henry's Letter at the end of this volume.

flourished. Music was no less generally cultivated than poetry: to which, scenic decorations had lately lent new and popular attractions. It was within the theatre of Ferrara that was first presented the novel spectacle of a regular tragedy or legitimate opera: and its princes were not more distinguished by an enthusiasm for the drama, than for their love of learning and strict observance of regularity and decorum. But the quality for which the reigning sovereign most prided himself, was the unmitigated fervour of his zeal for orthodoxy, which suffered not a heretic to exist within his dominions. Neither his vigilance nor his rigour had, however, stifled in his eldest daughter a secret prepossession for her mother's religious sentiments. The uprightness and generosity of her nature revolted from the intolerant system pursued by her father and his ministers; and this antipathy was confirmed by a young female Lutheran, the lady Olympia Fulvia Morata; who, according to the custom of the age, had been associated as a sister in all her juvenile studies and pastimes; and who, possessing a mind of more than ordinary strength, insensibly acquired an ascendant over the opinions and feelings of her royal mistress, which remained through life.

The extreme youth of Anne probably prevented the suspicion of her Lutheran predilections from alarming the court of France; nor does she, on her part, appear to have dreaded the connexion she was about to form with the most catholic family

in Europe. Modesty and discretion had taught her to shun, rather than seek occasions of proclaiming her dissent from the established system; but no lessons of policy, no assumption of authority, ever extorted from her correct and amiable mind an approbation of persecution, or silenced her internal conviction of the rights and duties of humanity. Fortunately, Anne possessed in her beauty a persuasive advocate for her liberal principles. Unlike her mother, whose person verged on deformity, she was tall and graceful,—her features appear to have resembled those of the too celebrated Lucretia Borgia, from whom, on the father's side, she derived her descent; but the prevailing expression of her countenance was modesty; and according to the poets who have portrayed and eulogized her personal charms, she might have been compared, in manners and in sentiment, with the beautiful and elegant Leonora D'Este, whose attractions proved so fatal to the impassioned Tasso. In her conduct, she was not only unblemished but exemplary; and perhaps few women, even of those born in a private station, displayed more amiably all that essentially belongs to the duties of female life than Anne d'Este. Although her marriage with Francis of Lorrain was decreed by the fiat of politicians, there was no reason to believe it thwarted her inclinations. His person was handsome and majestic, and the fame of his valour and accomplishments might alone have been sufficient to captivate her youthful imagination. Nor could

she be insensible to the liberality and magnificence which were prominent features in his character, and which, generally speaking, belonged to his family.

After her arrival in France, no eagerness appeared in either party to terminate the marriage, and Anne had the mortification to discover, that the Duke's heart was pledged to a lady of the Court, whom, in the language of the day, he *served*, and for whom his sentiments were intimated by wearing her livery, which was of a bright carnation colour. The marriage of this accomplished pair was celebrated in January, 1549, with a pomp and splendour never before witnessed in France but at the nuptials of the sovereign or his children. Of all the ladies of her age, Anne appears to have been the least ambitious of public homage; but it was otherwise with her husband; and in deference to the wishes of her family, she prepared for an exhibition which, to real feminine delicacy, must have been sufficiently formidable. Attired in bridal robes, and rather encumbered than embellished with a profusion of jewels, she rode on her white palfrey, between the old Cardinal Hippolito d'Este, and the young Cardinal de Bourbon, and was by them conducted to the gates of the Bastile, where the provost Claude Guyot, standing before the portal, addressed the princess in a formal speech, in which he pompously announced, "that such marks of respect were rarely offered but to the kings and queens, the sons and daughters of

France; but that in right of her mother Renée, he considered her as entitled to those royal honours; and he the more willingly performed the service of loyalty on the present occasion, as she was about to enter that illustrious family, to which the nation owed many fair trophies of conquest and glory." He then launched into an eulogy on the house of Guise, and ended with beseeching the princess to use her influence to insure the continuance of their favour to France, and, above all, to conciliate their good-will to the city of Paris.

To this elaborate address the princess replied in few words, with dignity and politeness, whilst the old Duke Claude, rushing into the Provost's arms, embraced him with transports of joy, officiously promising for all his posterity, that they should never cease to be faithful and grateful to the good people of Paris. The Provost again broke forth in a strain of enthusiasm, and was again embraced by the delighted Duke, till their mutual compliments were suspended by a loud discharge of artillery; and Anne, her ladies, and her train, passed through the gate in triumph.*

In referring to this scene, the reader of Froisard and Hall is reminded of those elder times, which have furnished so many scenes to our early dramatists. From the vanity and enthusiasm betrayed by Claude, it is easy to discover that his manners were purely French, and that of his German descent

* Felibiens Histoire de Paris.

nothing remained but the heraldic blazon, and the passion for illustrious ancestry.

The coronation of Catherine at St. Denis, and the separate entry of Henry and of his Queen into Paris, were deferred till the ensuing June.* These galas, independent of the ordinary sources of gratification supplied by national spectacles, were endeared to the French people by the temporary relief they afforded from the operations of those sumptuary laws, which, at all other seasons, imposed unwelcome restrictions on dress and luxury. According to contemporary writers, all ranks were infected with the mania of aspiring to pre-eminence. The Princes of Bourbon and Guise contended for precedency in the presence of their sovereign; the great lords vied with princes of the blood. The gentleman affected to be the lord, and to wear cloth of gold or silver, or velvet stuff; such habits were decorated with clasps or plates of gold; gold collars that encircled the neck, and equally superb chains suspended from the shoulders. The women, as might be expected, were no less ambitious of state and splendour. The burgher's wife aped the demoiselle, demoiselles usurped the style of titled dames, who almost challenged equality with princesses of the blood;† both sexes were equally impatient of those restric-

* Mezerai, tome ii.

† To promote the consumption of home-made manufactures, the king, by an edict of parliament, limited to princes the use of gold

tions which the sumptuary laws imposed: in some instances female enthusiasm braved the penalty; and if magistrates interfered, a popular tumult ensued. Women of rank obtained letters patent to secure them from prosecution; others, less fortunate, presented petitions and appeals to parliament. The parliament grew weary of the litigation; and, finally, the matter was left to take its own course.*

In issuing these prescriptive edicts, the monarchs of France seem to have forgotten that rules of economy ought to be enforced by example; the expenses of the royal establishment were enormous; functions and places were multiplied in endless gradation; and every individual from the Grand-master of the Household, who presided over the arrangements by day, to the Roi des Ribauts, whose duty it was to see that all

and silver stuffs, interdicting them even to great lords, with one exception only, that they should be exhibited at tournaments, and on the day of battle. "By a subsequent edict they were wholly suppressed, princes and princesses only appearing in a full suit of velvet or of crimson. It was permitted to all gentlemen and gentlewomen to wear some portion of silk, provided it were not crimson, and provided that the ground-work of the fabric should be wool."

By the same edict, "the ecclesiastics, with the exception of prelates and dignified magistrates, and such as by birth belonged to the nobility, were condemned to wear woollen. The wives of magistrates might wear silk robes of black or brown colour. The wives of burghers were forbidden to dress as demoiselles."

* Garnier, *Histoire de France*, tome xiii.

in the palace were quiet at night, was, to himself and others, an object of bustling importance.

The sacré of Henry had already been solemnized according to established usage in the city of Rheims. It remained for Catherine to be crowned in the ancient church of St. Denis.

The religious part of the ceremony was characterized by a puerile though pompous minuteness, which might have excited risibility in any but practised courtiers. Happy were the chosen few permitted to assist on this august occasion; and exquisite ingenuity was exercised in multiplying and distributing those coveted honours, so universally the objects of ambitious emulation.*

* At the commencement of mass, which was said by Cardinal Bourbon, two ladies were seen to descend from their balcony, each bearing in her hand a small volume, and to approach the spot where the Queen sat in regal state, the assembled crowd making way for them with obsequious deference.

The younger lady advanced the first, and, with profound respect, presented to Catherine her book of *Hours*. This was Diana, the king's legitimated daughter, then scarcely twelve years of age. In like manner, the elder dame, who was no other than the pure and stately consort of Montmorency, presented the book of *Oraisons*. These duties fulfilled, each returned to her former station, followed by many a wishful glance of envy or admiration. After mass, the communion service followed; when three other ladies conveyed the offerings to those illustrious females, whose privilege it was to attend the Queen to the altar. The gold bread was given to the Duchess of Guise, the silver to the Duchess of Nevers, the wine to Anne of

Between Catherine's coronation and Henry's public entry, elapsed six days; an interval sufficient to allow of a complete change in the aspect of the city and its inhabitants.*

The procession commenced at the Abbey of St. Lazarus; and, as at Lyons, the spectacle was embellished with classical objects, singularly and almost ludicrously contrasted with the narrow streets and sordid projecting roofs of Paris. Under the Gothic arch of St. Denis was erected a Roman altar dedicated to strength, of which two colossal figures in rustic costume formed the caryatides, bearing in their hands a scroll, with Henry's bombastic motto, of *donec impleat orbem.*

All the city companies, craftsmen, mechanics, artisans, tradesmen, carried arms. The long pike and halbert were the civic weapons; the lance and sword belonged to the privileged orders. The company of printers, to the number of three

Este, the wax to Diana de Poictiers, whose assistance, it may be presumed, in some degree allayed the exultation of the new queen. The remainder of the day was spent as etiquette religiously directed, in a royal supper, at which the princes and nobility were admitted according to precedency; and had, ever after, free access to the queen's presence.

* These details, of which the heads are furnished by a volume of tracts in the valuable collection of books in the British Museum, were originally published in 1549, in two brochures, with the following elaborate advertisement:—On les vend à Paris, chez Jacques Roffet, dit le Faulcheur, en la Rue Gervais; à l'Ensigne du Soufflet près Sainte Croix, en la cité.

hundred and fifty, dressed in black, marched three and three; and before them, was borne their appropriate ensign, the pen. In the rear of the city militia, rode the Provost, Claude Guyot, no longer, as on the nuptial day of Anne d'Este, essaying his powers of grandiloquence, but soberly mounted on a gray mule, clad in armour, and wearing over it his official robes. Counsellors, judges, abbots, bishops, nobles, and princes, all marched in solemn state, amidst the rapturous acclamations of myriads of spectators. The windows and balconies were crowded with ladies, dressed, according to the privilege of the day, in the gayest colours; who eagerly manifested their loyalty, by scattering flowers and pouring forth enthusiastic benedictions.

It was on the 16th of June, 1549, writes a Gallic contemporary, "that the first monarch in Europe made his entry into that city, of which, it is proverbially said, that if the world were an egg, its yolk would be found in Paris; and which all foreigners, whether Germans, Italians, Spaniards, or English, are accustomed to describe in this Latin phrase, *orbem videmus in urbe*, thus comparing with the great globe itself, the enormous extent of this gigantic city."*

According to the same writer, temples and obelisks had been constructed with prodigal magnificence. "There was neither area nor square, nor cross-way, but was embellished

* *Mémoires de Vieilleville*, par Vincent Carloix.

with an amphitheatre, a triumphal arch, a pyramid or obelisk, a colossal statue or emblem elaborately wrought, of which the gold and azure dazzled the spectators. To do honour to his good city of Paris, the King had summoned all the princes and great lords of the kingdom, who are almost infinite; and all his household, which is composed of an astonishing number of great and middle states (for as every body knows, there are here, *no little* ones), and so numerous was the court, that you might have counted two thousand pages who marched before their masters, bearing arms, and mounted on stately coursers, in such brave array, as is displayed by the ensigns on a day of battle; and these pages bore the helmets, the ribbands, the devices of their masters, all glittering with such showy colours, that they looked like meadows enamelled with flowers in the month of May. On their part, the Parisians were equally anxious to offer homage to their sovereign. Many of the ornaments exhibited were illustrated by learned Greek or Latin verses, from the pen of the poet-royal, Aurat, or more divine Ronsard; but, above all things, was admirable the splendid equipage of the fifteen thousand citizens who marched in the procession; exclusive of twelve hundred sons of citizens, whose horses were no less spirited and well trained, than those of the most noble cavaliers. This circumstance will, however, cease to astonish, when we recollect, that Paris

contains more than a hundred houses,* of which the rent amounts to thirty thousand livres; about two hundred of ten thousand, three or four hundred of five or six thousand; and at least twenty of sixty thousand livres per annum."

For the entry of Catherine, a far more brilliant scene was prepared, with scarcely any change in the dramatis personæ, and little transposition in the arrangements; but it may be observed, as an indication of Gallic gallantry, that the men were no longer confined to the military costume, and that with the exception of the friars, who retained their priestly vestments, all appeared in gala dresses, assuming the air and manners of cavaliers, rather than of judges and soldiers. As before, the procession commenced at the gate of St. Lazarus, whence advanced the crafts and companies, preceded by bands of music, which, says the Chronicler, delighted the ear with perpetual changes of harmony. After them, came the Provost Claude Guyot, no longer encumbered with armour, but arrayed in cloth of gold embellished with precious stones. In like manner the city militia had exchanged their coat of mail for vests of white satin. Even the Chancellor was habited like a gallant courtier; whilst counsellors and magistrates glided through the streets in dresses appropriate to the parterre of a ball-room. At length, appeared the royal litter, in which sat Catherine, in the modest costume of Anne of Brittany, a

* Abbeys not included.

long veil flowing over her shoulders; her gorgeous robe heavily encumbered with ermine; opposite to her sat the Princess Margaret,* the sister of Henry, a woman devoted to literature and beneficence; religious but not bigoted, charitable without ostentation, and who, without participating in the arroganee of her grandmother,† was the faithful representative of her talents and her virtues. To a late period of life, this Princess continued in her brother's court; where, by the undeviating propriety of her conduct, she contributed to the preservation of that order and decorum, so grossly violated in succeeding reigns. Without descending to the baseness of political intrigues, she acquired, even with Henry's ministers, the influence which strong intellect, combined with high rank, must always command in polished society; and as it was her discriminating liberality that first drew Michel L'Hopital from obscurity; it was actually to her recommendation that France owed one of her best statesmen and wisest legislators. ‡

Never perhaps were two individuals more strikingly contrasted than the sister and the wife of Henry the Second. Young, handsome, and debonair, the Queen was endeared to the people by her grace, her affability, and the four sons whom

* For a further account of this Princess, see the extract from Laboureur in the succeeding chapter.

† Anne of Britany.

‡ It is well known that this illustrious statesman was originally distinguished as a poet and a man of letters.

she had given to the house of Valois. Hitherto her ambition had borne the mask of humility, nor had her intriguing spirit found scope for its mischievous operations; but in dissimulation she was already an adept, having learnt to caress those by whom she felt herself supplanted, and to disguise in smiles and blandishments the envy or resentment which rankled in her haughty bosom; but those irascible emotions were mitigated by a certain constitutional gayety and good-humour, which enabled her at all times to sustain her part with amenity and cheerfulness. Nor was Catherine at this period, it may be presumed, without some feminine and amiable qualities; affable and beneficent, she often mediated betweeen hostile parties, and though in reality destitute of all principles of rectitude, was rather selfishly callous than malignantly cruel, nor was she yet prepared, by systematic depravity, for those acts of falsehood and perfidy which have eternally disgraced her memory.

After the royal litter followed eleven ladies, each mounted on a white palfrey, and accompanied by a royal cavalier.* Many of these personages are well known in history, and as they composed the society in which were formed the habits and manners of Mary Stuart, it may not be improper to

* Behind each lady walked two liveried pages bearing the mantle, which was the ensign of nobility.

announce their names and conditions, as an illustration rather than a digression from the principal subject of the work.

Of the splendid train, first came the Countess de St. Pol and Louis Bourbon, Prince of Condé; of the Countess nothing is known, but that she was the heiress of the House of Touteville, and the relict of M. de St. Pol, the brother of the elder Duke de Vendôme, and that consequently she must have been the aunt of her conductor; the Prince of Condé was at this time one of the youngest and gayest triflers of the court; sensible that his revenue was inadequate to his illustrious station, he sought to improve it by an advantageous alliance, and although not destined like his elder brother to espouse the heiress of a kingdom, he secured to himself the possession of a noble fortune, and an exemplary wife, by marrying Eleanor de la Roye, the niece of the virtuous Coligny, and the kinswoman of the Constable Montmorency. The personal advantages of Louis were not remarkable;* at court he was called familiarly the little merry man, who danced, joked, and laughed with the same spirit, but who, under the exterior of an exuberant and almost frivolous gayety, concealed an

* Louisa Montmorency, the Constable's sister, was first married to the Sieur de Mailly, by whom she had Eleanor, who married the Sieur de la Roye, mother of Eleanor, Princess of Condé; after the death of the Sieur de Mailly, Louisa married the Sieur de Chatillon, and by him had three sons and one daughter; the Princess of Condé was therefore great-niece to the Constable.

enterprising and ambitious soul, the sagacity of the statesman, and the energy which constitutes the essence of a military commander.

Next came Madame de Montpensier the elder and the Duke her son: this lady, the only surviving sister of the notorious Constable Bourbon, traced her descent to the ancient stock of St. Louis; she had been married to her cousin the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, and after his death became Duchess of Montpensier; she was the most ancient lady of the court, in which she had lived with unsullied reputation, and even to the venerable age of ninety continued to receive the homage due to her rank and virtues. The Duke, her son, was constantly engaged in the arduous task of substantiating his hereditary claims to the property of his disloyal uncle. At the commencement of his career he had been the poorest, at its close he was the richest Prince in France: during the life of Francis he made few advances towards preferment. Under his successor he acquired, through his wife's agency, more importance; but it was not till the Regency of Catherine, that he succeeded in the accomplishment of his wishes and rose to power and prosperity amidst the calamities of his distracted country.

The third couple was composed of Madame de Montpensier the younger, the Duke's wife, and her brother-in-law the Prince of Roche-sur-yon.* This lady was Jaquetta Longvic,

* John Count de Vendôme, left two sons, Francis last Count of Vendôme, and Louis father of Louis first Duke of Montpensier,

the heiress of the house of Vitry, sprung from the Paladins of Burgundy. In her youth she was remarkable only for beauty, and for having attracted the attention of the Duke of Orleans,* younger brother of Henry the Second, who wore her

whose branch ended in 1627, by the death of Mary Duchess of Orleans, and of Charles Prince de la Roche-sur-yon who espoused Phillippa de Montspedon, sprung from Wast de Montspedon, a Fleming, formerly valet-de-chambre to John, Duke of Berry, the son of King John. From this unequal alliance was born Henry, Marquis de Beaupre, who died in 1560. Charlotte, daughter of the first Duke de Montpensier, after having been thirteen years Abbess of Rheims, quitted her convent, escaped to the Count Palatine, and married William Prince of Orange, whose wife was living, whence it was pretended that she was but his concubine. In her vindication, she alleged that her religious vows had been taken by compulsion, and that the Prince's former wife, Anne of Saxony, had been legally divorced, after having been convicted of adultery; this Charlotte left six daughters, Louisa Julianna of Nassau, who espoused the Elector Palatine, and was the mother of Frederic, afterwards King of Bohemia, married to the daughter of James the first of England; Elizabeth, who married Henry de la Tour, Vicompte of Turenne, Duke de Bouillon, and was the mother of the Duke de Bouillon, and of the great Turenne. The third daughter, Catherine, became the wife of Philip Louis, Count of Hanau, and was the mother of Amelia Elizabeth, the Landgravine, so celebrated by the great Gustavus Adolphus. The fourth daughter, Charlotte Brabantine, married Claude, Duke de la Tremouille, was mother of Henry, Duke de Tremouille, and of Frederic, the Count de Laval; fifth, Charlotte Andrina, who died Abbess of St. Croix, Poictiers; and Emelia, wife of the Palatine of Ladsberg.—*Memoirs of Amelot Houssaye.*

* Also Duke of Burgundy. According to Vieilleville he was a most

colours, and professed to be her servant. In riper age she won by her discreet conduct the confidence of Catherine de Medicis, over whose mind she acquired an influence that was often generously exerted in the cause of humanity and toleration; but it appears to have been the chief honour of her life, that she possessed the friendship of Leonora de la Roye, the mother of the Princess of Condé, a woman eminently distinguished by the virtues and graces peculiar to her sex, but whom fortitude, prudence, and magnanimity, exalted to an equality with the first heroes of the age: to this noble-minded woman, originally the champion, and ultimately the victim of Calvinism, Charlotte of Montpensier evinced such truth and sincerity of attachment under circumstances the most trying to human affections, as proves that fidelity and honour existed even in the profligate court of Catherine de Medicis. The Prince of Roche-sur-yon appears to have owed exclusively to the adventitious circumstance of birth his title to distinction; but though sufficiently tenacious of his privileges as Prince of the blood, he condescended to enrich himself by forming a sordid alliance, and, not without exciting horror in the genealogical disciplinarian, espoused a woman, noble indeed, but lineally descended from the valet-de-chambre of the

ambitious, unprincipled prince, who, had he lived, would have disturbed his brother's reign, and endangered even his personal safety

Duke of Berry, the son of the brave but unfortunate King John.

The consort of this prudential personage, the Princess of Roche-sur-yon, was the fourth lady, accompanied by the old Duke of Guise, Claude of Lorrain. Previous to her illustrious marriage, she had been the widow of Maréchal Mortijan; and by her beauty and her dower attracted many suitors, among others the celebrated Timoleon Cossé, Maréchal Brissac, the handsomest man of the court; who engrossed her preference till she happened to see him obsequiously present a glass of water to his rival, who, as Prince of the blood, was entitled to expect such personal services.*

Disgusted with this unequivocal evidence of inferiority, the haughty dame married the Prince and repaired to the court of Francis the First, eager to assert her royal rights and privileges; but her arrogance was soon checked by that monarch, who, having seen her treat with impertinence a gentleman of birth, by commanding him to call her page from the antechamber, took her apart, and gently reminded her that courtesy was not incompatible with real dignity, of which pride was but the wretched substitute.† In the procession of Catherine, this

* See the curious anecdotes of this lady (extracted from Vieille ville) at the end of the volume.

† By degrees this imperious lady discarded the airs she had acquired in the province, but her flippancy appears to have been in

Princess was permitted to take place of the most illustrious ladies in France; her precedency on this occasion being determined by that which her conductor, the Duke of Guise, had held at the coronation of his sovereign, whilst, probably to check the arrogance of elder princes of the blood, royal dames of the first pretensions were escorted by junior princes.

The fifth lady was the venerable Antoinetta of Bourbon, the consort of the Duke of Guise, who walked with her grandson, the young Duke of Longueville, the son of Mary of Guise by her first marriage; after her came the Duchess of Nevers, Margaret of Bourbon, sister to Anthony, Duke of Vendôme, and the Prince of Condé. United to a man of sense, the mother of a numerous and beautiful progeny, possessing various talents and accomplishments, this lady was probably the happiest of the court, certainly one of the most prudent and irreproachable. The prince who conducted her, the Duke of Nemours, was nearly connected with the house of Valois by Louisa, the mother of Francis the First; though less hand-

corrigible. Being one day reproached by the Prince of Condé for having accepted the office of lady of the bed-chamber to Catherine, she retorted on him by replying, that he who was a prince of the blood had equally compromised his dignity in accepting a colonel's commission under his sovereign. In the foregoing traits of arrogance, we detect the vestiges of Gothic barbarism, obviously resulting from the artificial distinctions of rank which encumbered, and must have strangely deformed, even polished society.

some than Anthony, less vivacious than Louis Bourbon, and far inferior in personal and mental endowment to Francis of Lorrain, he ranked with the most gallant cavaliers of the age; and, above all his contemporaries, appears to have been formidable to husbands and fathers. Careless of money, and despising the science of political calculation, he left to the Montpensiers the intrigues of ambition, to the Princes of Bourbon and Guise the contention for power, reserving to himself the triumphs of libertinism and seduction. After these came Anne of Este, and the Duke of Nevers, a brave soldier and excellent commander, of principles too pure to attach himself to any party, much less to acquire authority and pre-eminence. With Madame de Valentinois was associated Francis, Duke d'Aumale,* to whose brother Claude, the younger daughter of that lady had been recently united. Though considerably past the prime of womanhood, her personal charms still challenged homage; nor was she less proud of her ancestry than her beauty. Sprung from the ancient and royal line of Lusignan, she was well pleased to hear herself compared with the famous Melusina, of whom many fabulous legends existed, and in emulation of that chivalrous dame erected at Anet a castle, which she vainly hoped should rival in magnificence the Saracenic towers of Lusignan.† When

* Afterwards Duke of Guise.

† The castle of Lusignan, afterwards destroyed in the civil wars,

Diana rode by Francis of Lorrain, they appeared to mutual advantage; the martial form of the cavalier, and majestic mien of the dame, equally announced a lofty consciousness of superiority. Brave, and delighting to discover heroism, and to stimulate to bold and honourable enterprise, the Prince sought not wealth, but fame; and at this period of his existence, held even power less dear and acceptable than glory.

The ninth lady was the king's natural daughter, Diana,* who, by a discreditable precedent, had been legitimated and admitted to almost all the privileges of a daughter of France. The tenth was the exemplary wife of the Constable Montmorency, who was of royal extraction, being distantly related to the Duke of Nemours, by her father, the grand-master of Louis the Twelfth, commonly called the bastard of Savoy.

was an exquisite specimen of Saracenic architecture, but still more celebrated for the haunted fountain, in which, at stated seasons, the apparition of Melusina was said to be recognised. This romantic legend corresponds nearly with the white lady of Avenel.

* The mother of this Princess, a native of Turin, had no establishment at court, and lived in obscurity; her acquaintance with the King having originated in a romantic adventure. During the war with Italy, when Henry, then Dauphin, was with the camp in Piedmont, this lady happened to be in a house which was set on fire, and she must have perished but for the intrepidity of an officer, who bore her in his arms, uninjured, through the flames. The King, who was upon the spot, struck with her beauty, took her under his protection, and always treated their daughter, Diana, with paternal fondness.—See *Antiquités de la France*, published in 1559.

Without aspiring to be an author, a scholar, or even a patroness, of letters, this lady possessed abilities of no common order, which were developed in habits of activity and economy, and the prudence and propriety with which she regulated her princely household. Although more than twenty years younger than the Constable, her immense dower laid the basis of his political greatness, whilst, by her gentleness and discretion, she had insensibly obtained his confidence, and finally established an ascendancy over him to whom she had been accustomed to yield the most obsequious deference. But even her powers of persuasion failed to eradicate the prejudice which he cherished against literary cultivation; and to all her prayers and entreaties, that one of their five sons should be bred to the church, he remained inflexible. With her daughters she was more successful; the four elder had married into the noblest families in France, and, like their mother, preserved through life an unblemished reputation; but the three younger sisters embraced a religious vocation; and two of them satisfied her devotional and ambitious aspirations, by filling in succession the high office of Abbess of Rheims.

It was remarked of Magdalen of Savoy, that she assimilated with the Constable chiefly in her fondness for ancient customs, which, in dress, she carried to an excess of prudish austerity, never deviating from the stiff ruff and straight sleeves, which had been adopted in the days of Anne of Brit-

tany, as appropriate to the consorts of the great dignitaries of state, and the daughters of a noble and ancient house. In her moral character she was decidedly his superior; she participated not in his avarice; her devotion was fervent and sincere. Her religious principles, though tainted with bigotry, often prompted actions of real charity and beneficence; and whenever the absence of her lord allowed her to renounce that pomp to which he was passionately addicted, she withdrew from the court, dismissed the appendages of state, and occupied herself exclusively with the care of erecting some religious edifice, or distributing among the wretched class of mendicants her benevolent and judicious donations.*

As the aged Countess de St. Pol had led the procession, it was closed by the infantine Mademoiselle de Nemours, afterwards contracted to a prince of Lorrain. Each of the eleven ladies was mounted on a milk-white palfrey, behind which walked two pages, bearing her voluminous train: they all wore a profusion of diamonds and gold, with the exception, however, of the widows, who, according to etiquette, were debarred from wearing jewels or colours. With no other variety of hue than black and white, did even Diana venture to embellish her waning charms; but, to console her for the privation, black and white had become the livery of her royal

* Magdalen of Savoy is extolled by every contemporary writer for her piety and charity.— See Laboureur.

admirer. To the first equestrian procession succeeded a second, consisting of younger ladies, among whom the most distinguished were the two daughters of the Duchess de Valentinois, the wife of Charles Count d'Aumale, and the Princess of Sedan; than whom no ladies of the court were more correct in conduct and manners. During the progress of religious dissensions, these two sisters, though tenderly attached, were enlisted under opposite parties; the Princess of Sedan seceding, with her husband, to Calvinism, whilst Frances de Breze adhered zealously to the Pope, as became all who were united with the house of Lorrain.

In the chronicle of the court we discover a certain refinement in some of the arrangements which marked the manners of the day: when the party alighted at the church, the trainbearers were dismissed, and their office transferred to young noblemen; the mantle of Catherine was borne by ladies; that of Diana by the young Henry Damville, the second son of Montmorency; a mark of homage which some of the old nobility would have disdained to offer to the object even of a monarch's illicit love. There were, perhaps, among the gallant veterans, some who felt themselves degraded by taking a part in this gaudy spectacle, to which succeeded another and another festive scene, each gay and frivolous as the preceding; but Henry's last pageant was of a totally different character.

After a solemn religious procession, at which the whole

court assisted, in which the relics were carried through the streets with every sign of reverence and devotion, the gates of the Conciergerie were unclosed, and the condemned heretics so long immured within its gloomy cells, formed into different bands, conducted to the platform of Notre Dame, the Place de Grève, and la Rue St. Antoine. Towards the close of the evening, the city was suddenly illuminated with the funeral pyre of those devoted victims, who, at the appointed signal, were forced into the flames. The King, who had that day banqueted at the episcopal palace, voluntarily offered to witness the punishment inflicted on those obstinate zealots, and, for that purpose, returned through the streets at the moment when the fatal light began to illumine the horizon. Fortified by the admonitions of his confessor, and the persuasion that he was inviting the obedience of his subjects, Henry, though naturally affectionate and humane, at first gazed on the frightful scene with self-approving complacency, till suddenly, among the shrieking victims, he distinguished the accents of one of his subaltern officers, to whom he had been formerly much attached, and who, with pathetic earnestness, supplicated for mercy and protection. For the moment, policy yielded to humanity; and it was only by hastening from the spot, that the monarch stifled the tender impulse of nature: but the impression was quickly effaced. It was for the priests to approve the action they had prompted, whilst the people, at least the

unthinking populace, inflamed by the eloquence of the pulpit, and incited by their own passions, extolled the zeal, and showered benedictions on the obduracy of their orthodox sovereign. After this acceptable oblation, the King departed for Boulogne, to resume hostilities against the English heretics, and claim from divine justice the victory promised by his courtiers, and darkly intimated in the astrological predictions of Nostradamus.

It is not impossible, but that, in witnessing this auto-da-fé, both the brave Andelot and the virtuous Coligny received their first impressions in favour of the persecuted Calvinists. It is at least certain, that many sincere and devout Catholics avowed their detestation of the execrable severity. Among these was the illustrious Vieilleville, one of the few statesmen who, without stooping to meanness, have attained power, and without sacrificing dignity or probity, have been fortunate enough to retain it.

CHAPTER IV.

MARY'S EDUCATION.—ASSISTANCE DERIVED FROM CARDINAL LORRAIN.—ARRIVAL OF HER MOTHER.—ELABORATE DISCOURSE PRONOUNCED BY MARY.—CURIOUS ANECDOTE OF CATHERINE AND THE DUCHESS DE VALENTINOIS.—GENEROSITY OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.—MARY'S EDUCATION RESUMED.—LEARNED WOMEN.—POETS.—PHILOSOPHERS.—THE ASTROLOGER NOSTRADAMUS.—PAUCITY OF ANECDOTES RESPECTING MARY.—ANECDOTES OF THE FRENCH COURT.—ANECDOTES OF THE DUKE OF NEMOURS AND FRANCIS DE ROHAN.—ORIGIN OF THE EDICT AGAINST CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES.—JANE HALLUIN AND FRANCIS DE MONTMORENCY.

WHILST the court of France presented a succession of boisterous or insipid amusements, Mary Stuart remained in her convent, subjected to strict rules of discipline, and regularly accustomed to join the nuns in their devotional exercises, and ascetic humiliations: and so readily did she comply with whatever was required by her spiritual directors, that they began to cherish ambitious hopes of the royal pupil, and to boast that she had a religious vocation. This persuasion was too agreeable to self-love, and to enthusiasm, to be confined to their own community; the nuns officiously proclaimed their conviction, that the little Mary Stuart would be a saint on earth: and with such zeal was the rumour propagated, that it even

reached the King, who had just returned from Boulogne, and who, not relishing the suggestion, immediately demanded that his daughter-in-law elect should be transferred to apartments in the palace, where she could be no longer accessible to sainted maids, or exposed to their pious seductions. According to her learned biographer,* the execution of this mandate drew from Mary more tears than she had shed on leaving Scotland. Whether the endearing manners of the community had so strongly engaged her affections, or that, in the tranquillity of her retreat, so congenial to the simple wishes of childhood, the sensibilities of her nature had prematurely expanded, we are assured not only that she evinced deep sorrow at this change of residence, but that she eagerly embraced every permission that was offered, of revisiting the sisters of the community, and long after employed her needle in embroidering an altar-piece for the church of their convent.† In the palace, as before, Mary was attended by her two scholastic preceptors, her governess, the Lady Fleming, and her curator, Reid, Bishop of Orkney, who had succeeded Lord Livingston in that important trust. Her Maries continued to be her constant companions; and as she discovered uncommon aptitude to application, nothing was omitted to stimulate her exertions or increase her diligence. Exclusive of the Latin and the French, she began also to study the Italian language; but music was rarely cul-

* Conæus in Jebb. † Ibid.

tivated by the great as a science, and it was not till a later period that she learnt to play on the virginals and clavichords.

The education of Mary was precisely such as was given to the daughters of France, with certain supplemental literary advantages, for which she appears to have been exclusively indebted to the superintendence of her uncle, Cardinal Lorrain. In the education of a royal personage, mental cultivation, however highly valued, was of subordinate importance to the acquisition of those external accomplishments, essentially necessary to that public exhibition which is unavoidably imposed on the station of a sovereign. For those who live exposed to the public gaze, alternately the objects of criticism and admiration, to be wanting in a dignified carriage, or gracious demeanour; to be untasteful in dress, of ungraceful speech, or shy, repulsive manners, has ever been an irreparable defect, for which neither moral nor intellectual qualities could compensate to their possessor. To guaranty the royal pupils from this misfortune, appears to have been a primary object with the French teacher: and whilst the prince was taught to ride, to fence, and to perform all the athletic exercises suited to his sex and rank, he was at the same time habituated to speak in public, to recite discourses, which he, perhaps, scarcely understood, and to address, in a tone of confidence and friendship, those to whose person and character he was almost a stranger. In like manner, a princess was early accustomed to the cere-

mony of receiving and dismissing visiters; taught to dispense smiles when she had not the privilege to distribute favours; and, almost before she had left the nursery, to enact the pageant of the future queen. In the drawing-room, as on the stage, a certain step and carriage were among the chief requisites. A diligent application to etiquette was required to enable the debutante princess always to use the action suited to the speech, to offer such salutation as the person was entitled to expect, graduating from the sisterly embrace, to the scarcely perceptible inclination of the head; from the ardent greeting, at the very entrance of the hall, or the gracious approach towards the middle of the apartment, to the advance of a few paces from the chair of state. The artificial divisions of rank had introduced at the court a corresponding variety of gradations in ceremony, tediously minute and inelegant, but which, perhaps, in some degree, relieved the insignificance, and enlivened the monotony of diurnal life. For the performance of those major and minor duties of good-breeding, it was necessary that the royal pupil should acquire a competent knowledge of heraldry; and at so early a period were the elements of this science communicated, that it is recorded of a little princess,* who died before she was eight years of age, that she could *dissert* like a professor on the subject of genealogies, had always something pertinent to remark to the nobles who

* Isabella, daughter of Charles the Ninth.—BRANTOME.

came from the provinces, and was perfectly mistress of every point of ceremony and etiquette. In the course of these elementary exercises, it was naturally supposed the royal pupil would acquire self-respect, in other words, a lofty consciousness of superiority, and of all the privileges and distinctions annexed to her birth and rank, and an inflexible resolution to maintain and defend them from invasion or neglect. The pride of ancestry, and the love of power, formed the basis of this principle, which was unquestionably calculated to impart dignity to the manners of a prince, and what might be either called magnanimity, or tenacity, or obstinacy, to his character. It should be remarked, that, at the court of Henry, pride frequently usurped the name, and assumed the merit of dignity; but it must also be acknowledged, that they were sometimes happily blended in the same individual. When the excellent Margaret of France refused to marry the Duke of Vendôme, because he was her brother's subject, she was applauded for the supposed magnanimity of a very equivocal sentiment. When Admiral Coligny declined addressing the daughter of Diana de Poictiers, he extorted respect by his high-spirited independence; when Diana herself declined for the Demoiselles de Breze those suspicious privileges which might have rendered their legitimacy doubtful, she was praised for her solicitude to preserve, uncontaminated, an ancient line of ancestry. In each of these examples it is evident that the principle of action might be re-

solved into respect for high birth, an almost superstitious veneration for the memory of great or glorious progenitors, and an unalterable conviction of the duty to transmit, unimpaired, those hereditary honours to posterity. From whatever source derived, the self-respect imposed on persons of illustrious rank was evidently held paramount to the most sacred, moral, and religious obligations; and society showed more indulgence to the dereliction of virtue than to the violation of decorum. Such was the system of morals, the school of manners, in which Mary Stuart was formed, under accomplished masters, a discreet governess, and erudite preceptors; but she would have been little regarded as a daughter of Lorrain, had she not also been imbued with an abhorrence of heretical pravity, a superstitious veneration for the church of Rome, and unlimited deference for the authority of the supreme pontiff. On these subjects she was early accustomed to commit to memory discourses elaborately prepared, which she recited with a gravity, and fluency, and propriety, that astonished, and, perhaps, deceived, her admiring auditors. In 1550, when her mother, Mary of Guise, visited France, after a splendid welcome from Henry and his court, she was conducted to her daughter's apartment.* At the sight of this princess, whom she found surprisingly improved in beauty and demeanour, the Queen Dowager shed tears of joy, and hung over her child in an

* Conæus.

ecstasy of maternal affection: but great must have been her astonishment, when the young queen, far from betraying any spontaneous emotions, demanded, with marvellous gravity, "whether any feuds continued to subsist in the noble families of Scotland; at the same time inquiring, by name, for those who had evinced most attachment to the ancient faith. She then proceeded to ask, with all the usual expressions of royal benevolence, if the English still harassed her dear native country; whether Divine worship had been preserved in uncontaminated purity; whether the prelates and priests attended to their respective duties; expressing detestation for all who had forsaken the faith of their fathers." She then, with admirable correctness, addressed an appropriate compliment to the Scottish nobles, by whom her mother was attended, strictly enjoining on them the duty of fidelity to their country, and the apostolic church. In conclusion, she expatiated on "the generous protection she had received from the King of France, not without adverting to the gratitude which his conduct ought to inspire in her faithful subjects." As Mary was scarcely eight years of age, the recitation of this long discourse affords no ordinary indication of capacity and self-possession. In its borrowed sentiments it was not difficult to trace the spirit of Lorrain; nor could it escape observation, that a child of such quick parts and docile disposition, must be eminently liable to imbibe any prejudices, which it might be the interest

of the tutor to instil into her tender mind. If her improved looks delighted the Queen Dowager, her promising attainments seem to have equally gratified the pride of her Scottish attendants, one of whom protests, that whether in mind or person, she most surpassed all other mortals, it would be difficult to ants, one of whom protests, that whether in mind or person, determine.* The scene of this interview was Rouen, in which venerable town Henry detained the two queens a few days, in order to prepare for them a carousal, or triumph;† after which they made a public entry into Paris. It was probably those happy scenes of early childhood, that afterwards endeared to Mary the recollections of France. During a whole year she had the inestimable advantage of her mother's superintendence; and whilst she progressed with

* See Leslie, in Jebb.

† "The only classical part of the show, was a triumphal arch, under which passed a procession, at once superb and grotesque. The first object was a chariot, drawn by a unicorn, after which came two elephants, or rather horses so disguised as to represent them, bearing on their backs two litters, in which were seated ladies, of whom a transient glimpse was taken from the latticed apertures. Religion followed in her triumphal car, bearing in her arms the appropriate symbol of a church. Next to these walked a man, carrying the image of the Virgin and the child Jesus. Then followed the Car of Fortune, in which rode another man, young and handsome, as the representative of Henry the Second, behind whom stalked a boy, to personate the Dauphin. To crown the whole, Neptune glided along with Amphitrite, attended by tritons and sea-monsters."—Montfaucon's *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, tom. ii.

the court, enlivened her serious studies with exercises of riding and dancing, and intermingled with them the more elegant accomplishments. Highly as the queen dowager must have enjoyed this restoration to the bosom of her family, it was with far other views than the simple gratification of the domestic affections, that she revisited her native country. Participating in the ambitious character of her family, she had long since proposed to supplant the governor in the regency of Scotland, and now flattered herself the propitious moment was arrived when, with the assistance of the King of France, that darling object might successfully be accomplished. The last few months had proved fatal to two of her relatives, her father, the sanguine and prosperous Claude of Guise, the founder of the dynasty in France, and the patient though aspiring cardinal, her uncle, who, at the age of eighty, still yearned for the papal tiara, which he had recently missed but by four votes, and which he might have ultimately obtained, had not death suddenly arrested his fantastic speculations. Neither of these princes had possessed the confidence of their sovereign: even Francis of Guise, so long the companion of his youthful pursuits, rather dazzled than pleased him; the representations of Diana had procured for his brother, the cardinal, familiar access to his counsels; but not even her influence could entirely remove the distrust which he secretly harboured against those ambitious princes. For their sister

he entertained more cordial sentiments; and it was even whispered at court, that, in the event of his queen's death, he might be tempted to raise her to the throne of France. With her usual address, that princess obtained from him the concession which she required for the accomplishment of her wishes; namely, that he should guaranty to the Earl of Arran whatever conditions she had proposed to induce him to resign the regency of Scotland.

No sooner was this boon secured, than she prepared to leave the court, and at Fontainebleau took an affectionate, and, as it proved, an eternal farewell of her daughter, not, perhaps, without a momentary impression, that the prerogatives she sought could never wholly compensate for the children* she left, the country she renounced, the elegance and urbanity that she sacrificed, for the precarious chance of exercising a delegated sovereignty. It is creditable to the feelings of this queen, that she suffered not her political speculations to stifle the sense of filial duty, nor, on leaving Fontainebleau, did she omit a tedious journey to Joinville, purposely to condole with her widowed mother, Antoinetta of Bourbon,† who, with the austerity of a Roman matron, imposed on all her inmates and dependants the hard task of sympathizing in her personal sorrows, and partaking her self-imposed mortifications.

* She had a son by the Duke de Longueville.

† Leslie, in Jebb.

In conformity to custom, the apartments of her magnificent but gloomy mansion had been hung with black, in honour of her departed lord; for herself, discarding the usual ornaments of dress, she wore over her head a long sable veil, abjured public processions and amusements, and dedicated her remaining days to works of charity and devotion. Unfortunately her religion was strongly tinctured with ascetic bigotry; and such was her righteous abhorrence of heretics, that she often conscientiously reproached even her sons for politically conniving at their toleration; little therefore could she have relished the defensive league which Henry was about to form with the Protestant Princes of Germany, and as little could she have approved the temporizing policy which her daughter found it prudent to adopt in countenancing and protecting the Scottish Reformers.

After the departure of the Queen Dowager from the French court, the pageantry of shows and spectacles gave place to objects of political and military interest; the ratification of peace with England left the King at liberty to commence an indirect attack on the Emperor, for which his tyrannical government in Germany afforded a convenient pretext. Delighting in war, and allured with the hope of conquest, Henry was eager to be confronted with Charles the Fifth, the most able Prince in Europe; nor did the Persecutor of the Calvinists scruple to accept from Protestant Princes the specious title of—*Defender*

of the Liberties of Germany, with which proud pretensions he assumed in person the command of his well-disciplined army. The march of the troops was regulated by the movements of the court, which advanced towards Joinville, where an incident occurred, that illustrates the relative position of the Queen and the Duchess de Valentinois. Catharine, who with secret displeasure had seen this lady included in the party, was here seized with a malady, for which the physicians could suggest no remedy, and which must have speedily cut short her existence but for the seasonable interposition of her hated rival, who, having witnessed a similar case, boldly proposed the adoption of an application which, in that instance, had been found successful, with unremitted attention watched by the Queen's bed, and finally restored her to the world, and all its feverish solicitudes.* For a service so important, even Catherine might have been impressed with gratitude, had she not been taught by her officious friends to ascribe Diana's assiduities to an interested motive. It was pretended that the Duchess dreaded the influence which another and a younger woman might acquire over Henry's mind, and that she even suspected she might find in Mary of Guise a dangerous rival.

During these intrigues the King, guided by Montmorency, advanced towards Strasburgh. His army hailed with rapture the first view of the Rhine, and knelt devoutly to taste of its

* Villinois.—Matthieu.

hallowed stream; but these emotions flowed rather from military vanity than enthusiasm for picturesque beauty; and Henry's passage of that noble river was afterwards proudly commemorated in the medals and poems which were produced to emblazon his name. The details of the campaign have little connexion with the subject of this work; but it is proper to advert to the glory acquired by the Duke of Guise in his masterly defence of Metz, which, at the close of 1552, was besieged by a numerous army under the Duke of Alva, whose plan had received the sanction of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. To protect that city, the flower of the chivalry, and even of the royalty of France, had collected round its walls; the rival chiefs of Lorrain and Bourbon were here associated with their rival kinsman, the Prince of Condé, the Duc de Nevers, and the Duc de Nemours, but the supreme command was intrusted to the Duke of Guise, and to him exclusively was appropriated the honour of having finally compelled the invaders to make a disgraceful retreat. It may perhaps be doubted how far the Duke was really entitled to engross the credit of that splendid achievement;* but it was indisputably by his prompt and humane exertions that the wretched victims, who had been left in the enemy's camp, were preserved from destruction.

* According to Vincent Carloix, the Duke gained credit for the victory, which was in reality acquired by the meritorious services of M. de Vielleville, and other military colleagues.

Not satisfied with calling to their aid the celebrated Ambrose Paré, confessedly the most skilful surgeon in Europe, his benevolence supplied to the survivors the means of returning to their friends and country. An action such as this, which speaks to the common sympathies of man, must in every age be appreciated and understood. But such was the religious fanaticism that pervaded the sixteenth century, that, with the majority, the Duke acquired far more applause, by causing all the heretical publications discovered in Metz to be consigned to the flames; an example of intolerance by which he proclaimed to Europe his abhorrence of the tenets maintained by the German allies, to whom he had just rendered such important service: as in the first instance, his conduct was evidently prompted by humanity; in the second, it was probably suggested by the policy that taught him to conciliate the clergy, and to flatter the prejudices of the Parisian populace, which murmured against any coalition with the Protestants.

In the ensuing campaign (1553), the duke sustained his rising reputation at the battle of Renti. In the following year (1554), the Duke of Chatelerault having quietly resigned his authority, he saw his sister (with the full consent of the states) invested with the regency of Scotland; and no sooner had his niece entered her twelfth year, than she chose for her three guardians the King of France, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorrain; the welfare of her kingdom was thus

abandoned to the cupidity or ambition of foreign rulers, and the best interests, both of France and Scotland, indirectly sacrificed to the Guisian spirit of domination.

Amidst the eternal clashing of political parties, the progress of Mary's education was not neglected; and Cardinal Lorrain, who had early discovered her fine talents, was unremitted in his efforts to afford them cultivation and encouragement. During many years female learning had been cherished in France; and if in Margaret, Queen of Navarre, it had been associated with the graces, in the Princess Margaret, the sister of Francis, it was united with wisdom, piety, and all the domestic charities peculiar to the female sex. In giving his niece the solid knowledge of the scholar, the Cardinal was not less anxious that she should possess those feminine attractions which alone lend to woman an empire over the affections. Aware of the influence which is acquired by a graceful and persuasive elocution, he spared no assiduities to facilitate to her the possession of that fascinating accomplishment, for which, in common with her mother and her uncles, she discovered a native talent.

For the sons and daughters of France it had been usual to select a single preceptor, to whose guidance the cultivation of the pupil's mind was exclusively committed: thus Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Spain, had been placed under the especial superintendence of Estienne; and the celebrated Amiot pre-

sided over Charles the Ninth. Eager to secure to his niece a decided pre-eminence over other princesses, the cardinal, who, since the death of Francis the First, had been acknowledged supreme dictator over the new college, and was consequently recognised as the common patron of letters, engaged for Mary Stuart the assistance of all who were most able to foster her talents, and improve her taste. In rhetoric, she appears to have been assisted by Fouchain;* her love of history was confirmed by Pasquier; her early predilection for poetry encouraged by Ronsard. Nor was Mary exonerated from the laborious application exacted of those who aspire to an intimate acquaintance with the Latin language, an attainment at that time indispensable to a liberal education, and in which she so far succeeded as both to write and speak it with elegance and fluency. It is not known at what period she commenced her lessons under Buchanan, whose classical compositions have been pronounced worthy of the Augustan age; nor is it known to what pen she was indebted for the assistance she received in the composition of that celebrated Latin Oration in praise of female learning, which in her thirteenth year she recited at the Louvre, in the presence of a numerous assembly.†

* Author of a treatise on Rhetoric, dedicated to the Queen of Scots.

† It is worthy of remark, that the most cultivated and intelligent

The subject of this discourse was happily chosen to flatter the liberal opinions, which then prevailed in almost every

women were suspected of a bias in favour of the new opinions. The Princess Margaret herself did not escape this imputation, for which, however, there appears to be no better foundation than that she revolted from systems of intolerance and persecution. The rapid progress of the reformation is, perhaps with some plausibility, ascribed to the countenance it received from the softer sex. "No sooner," says Laboureur, "had Francis the First invited letters and the arts from other countries, than the princesses of this court offered to them their sincere homage, and in a short time spoke with fluency all the languages, and became familiar with the best classical authors. To this praise more especially is entitled Margaret, Queen of Navarre; nor is it less due to Renée, of Ferrara; their niece and several other ladies of the first quality: but of all these princesses the most distinguished was Margaret, afterwards Duchess of Savoy, who was not only eminently learned, but equally prudent, having never separated from the apostolic church. It may with truth be said of this great princess, that she held in France an empire not inferior to that of her brother Henry, since she reigned over the minds and held tributary the affections of his subjects, who, to express their admiration of her sterling qualities, invested her with the title of Minerva: never was any name hallowed with such applause unmixed with envy, nor was this tribute merely the venal praise of mendicant poets, but the deliberate homage of her most illustrious contemporaries, and among others, of the great Chancellor of France, Michel l'Hôpital; (it was the supreme delight of this princess to make the fortune of a man of letters); and so excellent was her judgment, that all, but the most sordid or malicious, applauded her choice, and honoured her recommendation."—LABOUREUR, tome ii.

court in Europe, respecting the propriety of female cultivation.

In France, more especially, learning, far from being the badge of singularity, had become the attribute of a superior station. It was not only the Marguerites, the Dames de Soubise, the Princesses de la Roye, who participated with the other sex in classical pursuits; in general, women of high rank were formed under the tuition of scholars and orators; many of those fair pupils aspired to become authors; it is an undisputed fact that more literary ladies were to be found in France alone than in all the other countries of Europe, and it may perhaps be doubted whether France itself has ever since produced an equal number of female students.

That of women, once eminently distinguished, little should now remain beyond the scanty records of monumental eulogy, ceases to excite surprise, when we advert to the fatal political tempests which were destined to succeed, in this country, to a brief and luxuriant spring, which rooted up those national habits and manners engrafted on the old stock of chivalry, and, finally, by the clashing of political and religious parties, at once destroyed the urbanity, and perverted the frankness of the primitive French character. Nor was it alone the female authors of that age, who were consigned to the grave of unsparing oblivion; the following passage of Estienne Pasquier contains a brief memorial of many ingenious writers of

the other sex,* by whom an ephemeral celebrity had been mistaken for permanent fame.

"There was," says this legal critic, "a glorious crusade against ignorance, in the van of which came Sève, Beza,† Pelletier; or rather, these were precursors and heralds of mightier bards, and higher potentates of genius. After them came Pierre Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay, both gentlemen of noble descent, each prosperous in his career, the former eminently victorious. Attracted by the glory that crowned those laurelled chiefs, so many adventurers flocked to their standard, that you might have fancied the nation—the age itself—consecrated to the muses. Pontus de Thiard, Estienne Jodelle, Henry Belleau,‡ Jean Anthoine de Baif, § Jaques

* In the dictionary of authors, published in 1580, we find a considerable number of learned ladies, who had acquired celebrity by original compositions, or translations.—See Estienne Pasquier's *Recherches de la France;* also, *Les Lettres* d'Estienne Pasquier.

† Theodore Beza is well known for his Latin compositions, and for the share which he took with Marot in the paraphrase of the Psalms of David.

‡ Henry Belleau, no less distinguished by his moral character than his polite attainments, was patronized by the Marquis d'Elbœuf, and by him chosen to be the preceptor of his son: he was addicted to the study of natural history, and, in imitation of an ancient Greek poet, wrote a poetical dissertation on *precious stones*, which formed the subject of his longest productions.

§ John Anthony Baif, another court-poet, eminent in his day, acquired more celebrity for his introduction of the musical drama in

Tehereau, Nicholas Denisot, who, by making an anagram of his name, called himself the Count d'Daunois, Louis le Corond, Olivier de Magny, Claude Butet, Louis de Masures, who translated Virgil. Even myself published Monophilus, and, during my leisure hours, composed Latin and French verses. All this passed under Henry the Second; and I compare these men to the battalion which stands the brunt of the battle. Each had his mistress, whom he exalted and deified in his lays. Each proudly challenged for himself immortality, but some have already outlived the memory of their compositions."*

With the sentiments of Pasquier coincides the poetical criticism of the celebrated Joachim du Bellay, an author who was entitled to rank with the most eminent bards of his age and country, and who seems to have delighted to cherish and to honour congenial genius. In the following spirited passage, extracted from one of his poetical epistles, he sympathizes with Pasquier in the predilections spontaneously yielded to

France, and by the concerts given at his country-house, near Paris, at which nobles and princes assisted in the manner of the great at Ferrara. Baif attempted also to naturalize hexameters to the French language; but the experiment was unsuccessful.—See *Préface to the Recueil des plus belles Pièces des Poetes François, tant anciens que modernes. Paris*, 1692.

* *Lettres* d'Estienne Pasquier, published, 1580.

Jodelle, and succeeds far better than the legal critic in transfusing his sentiments to his readers.*

'Tis thine, Belleau, to teach my soul
On wine and gay desires to dwell,
And thine, sweet Baif—of Challamie,
Of rustic truth and love to tell,
Till the poor cottage dearer seems
Than courts, or regal diadems.

And Pelletier, thine the fervent lay
That bids me rise on soaring wing;
O'er thine own starry world to stray,
And with Urania's self to sing;
While Ronsard's high, heroic voice
Bids all my soul in arms rejoice!

But, oh! can words, can numbers speak
The magic of thy lyre, Jodelle?
A spirit thou, for man were weak,
To frame the strange, the mystic spell;
That every sense in rapture chains,
To list thy more than mortal strains.

Yes, thine to rouse! to melt is thine!
To charm, to thrill the soul with fear,

* Jean Passerat was a royal professor, who succeeded the celebrated Ramus in the philosophical chair, and devoted his leisure hours to poetry. Although attached to scientific pursuits, he lived in habits of intimacy with Henry Belleau, and Ronsard, and used to say, "He would rather have written Ronsard's Ode on the Chancellor l'Hôpital, than obtain possession of the Duchy of Milan."—*Preface to the Recueil des plus belles Pièces, &c.*

As hers that served the Delphic shrine,
When the prophetic God was near;
So at thy voice my reason flies her throne,
And wildering, lost, obeys—*thyself* alone!*

Of all these poets, Joachim du Bellay, who has been called the Catullus of France, and Pierre Ronsard, both men of birth and high education, assumed, and, in the judgment of learned

* The original of this paraphrase, for which the author is indebted to the pen of a young female friend, is here inserted.

Par les vers Teiens *Belleau* me fait aymer,
Et le vin et l'amour—Baif ta Challemie!
Ne fait, plus qu'une Royne, une rustique Amie
Et plus qu'une grande ville une village estimer,
Le Docte *Pelletier* fait mes flancs emplumer
Pour voler jusqu'au Ciel, avec son Uranie,
Et par l'horrible effroi d'une etrange armoire
Ronsard de Pie en Cap hardy, me fait armer,
Mais je ne sais comment ce demon de Jodelle
Demon est il vrayement car d'une voix mortelle,
Ne sorte point ses vers, tout soudain que je l'oye
M'aiguillone—m'espingle—m'epouvante—m'affolle,
Et comme Appollon fait de sa pretresse folle
A moi-même m'otant, me reçoit, tout a soi.

Poesies de Joachim du Bellay.

Yet Joachim du Bellay pays an extravagant compliment to Ronsard, when, in describing the Palace of Poetry, he assigns to Homer one apartment, the second to Virgil, and the third to Ronsard. In another passage of the same epistle, he pays a tribute to Magny, the poetical architect of Anet, a palace founded by Diana de Poictiers.

and critical readers, have maintained pre-eminence. In their own age, however, it was confessedly Estienne Jodelle who stole the suffrage of the people, and almost engrossed the smiles of his unintellectual sovereign. The secret of his success is perhaps to be found in the novel and popular character of his productions; whilst Ronsard perplexed himself with composing his heroic national poem,* Jodelle, addressing himself to human passions, produced a regular tragedy, which was represented on the French stage, and procured for its author the classical appellation of *Eschylus*. After this prosperous commencement, he produced the Cleopatra, a play so highly relished by Henry the Second, who cared little for the sublimer strain of poetry, that he repeatedly witnessed its representation, and gratefully bestowed on the author a donation of 500 crowns.† The servile poets who flourished in this reign have not escaped the rigour of Calvinistic reprehension, but it would be as absurd as invidious to attribute to their influence the immorality of the courtiers, or the intolerance of their sovereign. In general, it must be allowed, that the poetical satellites of the palace satirized the new reformers, and associated with loyalty, honour, and fidelity, *the principles of the ancient faith;* but there existed another school of poets, unpatronized by the court, and strongly attached to the cause of civil and religious liberty, who, in defiance of political authority or vul-

* The Franciade. † Garnier.

gar prejudices, enjoyed considerable reputation. At this time the love of poetry was widely, and even popularly diffused; the memory of the itinerant Troubadour was still cherished, and many a roundelay and madrigal, in imitation of the old Provençal lays, was chanted by mendicant minstrels, or merry villagers.* Even of the court-poets, there were some who scorned to flatter the bigotry of the Princes of Lorrain.

In his spirited epistles, Joachim du Bellay stigmatizes the hypocrisy and venality of Rome, in numbers not less severe and terse than those of a Wyatt or a Chaucer; and the name of Marot, however obnoxious to the denunciations of churchmen, was still cherished by every true votary of the Muses. Although that veteran bard was now proscribed by the canons of orthodoxy, his genius had been fostered in a court; in his youth, he had tasted of princely munificence, and basked in the smiles of high-born beauty. Under Francis the First, he had risen from the obsequious station of a royal page, to the dignity of a man of letters, and having, like Melin de St. Gelais, shared in the applause of king and nobles, like him he survived to witness the tribute offered to younger and more prosperous rivals: but here the parallel ended. Melin still hovered near the palace, denouncing heretics and schismatics, yet unable to escape the conviction that he was himself sup-

* See the lively descriptions of rural pastimes and provincial manners in the *Poesies* de Joachim du Bellay.

planted by Jodelle and Ronsard. Marot, on the contrary, was a fugitive and an exile: the irregularities of his youth had been easily overlooked, but the taint of Calvinism, contracted in mature age, was an inexpiable offence, which, had the strength of his adversaries equalled their malice, would have been visited with all the terrors of Dante's fictitious purgatory; happily the poet continued to find friends in the sex that prompted his first literary efforts; and as in prosperity he had been patronized by Margaret of Navarre, in adversity he received aid and protection from her niece Renée, the Duchess of Ferrara. But even that magnanimous lady could not long defend him; and, finally, he threw himself into the arms of Calvin at Geneva, where, in conjunction with Theodore Beza, he completed a version of the Psalms of David, which he had begun under Francis the First;* and which is to this day regarded as the pillar of his fame. Independently of that work, Marot left enough to immortalize his memory; and the careless graces of his poetry continue, by their freshness, to delight those who turn with fatigue and disgust from the more

* In the court of Francis it had been the fashion for every distinguished personage to appropriate to himself some Psalm, which was sung on profane occasions. The Dauphin Henry sung, when hunting, that beginning with "Comme on oit le cerf bruire." Diana de Poictiers sung when dancing "Du fonds de ma pensée." Anthony, King of Navarre, sung in dancing "Revanche-moi; prens mon querelle."—*Preface to the Recueil e Poetes François, &c.*

elaborate compositions of his fortunate rivals, of whom the greater part flourished under the especial patronage of Cardinal Lorrain.

Amidst the indications of intelligence and taste, which shed lustre over the court of France, a vestige of barbarous ignorance and superstition may be discovered in the respect and consideration which was shown to the renowned Nicholas Cretin, better known by the appellation of Nostradamus, the physician, astrologer, philosopher in ordinary to Henry, King of France, and the Princess Margaret. This extraordinary individual dedicated to *Divine Power*, and the French nation, certain rhapsodical prophecies or Centuries, in which he announced future events, in language inflated and mysterious as the Sibylline oracles, but which was artfully calculated to flatter the prejudices of those to whom they were addressed; his predictions were eagerly imbibed by Catherine de Medicis; and there is but too much reason to believe that they occasionally fostered, both in Francis of Lorrain, and his intriguing brother, that inordinate ambition, so pernicious to France, so fatal to the young Queen of Scotland.*

* Epistle dedicated to Divine Power, and to the French nation, according to a prophecy promulgated by M. Anthony Cretin, professor, counsellor, philosopher, and astrologer in ordinary to the King of France, and to the Duchess of Savoy:—"Honour and glory be to the admirable power of God, and health and peace to the French nation for ever." After this salutation, the author enters

It is not known that Mary was one of his votaries; none of his predictions were addressed to her; but she had been, from infancy, addicted to superstition, a propensity that must

into a learned discourse on the planetary influence which predominates in different countries: "Jupiter rules in Gaul, Saturn in Italy, Mars in Asia Minor, Mars and Mercury in Spain. Given on the Mount of Sibyls, the 13th of January, 1567. There shall come one who shall prevail over Europe, who shall have the aged to give him counsel, the young and vigorous to execute them, by whom peace shall be preserved in its seat, and bring to all prosperity and honour."

As a specimen of this author's style, the following passage is extracted from the Centuries published in 1549; they evidently refer to the belligerent religious parties, and, in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, were republished, with a copious and learned exposition, of which the object was to prove, that by the extirpation or expulsion of the Huguenots, the Divine promise was about to be accomplished.

To all the philosophers, astrologers, and poets of this age:—

"Lorsque de ses feux vagabonds assemblez par le doux printemps, le Bellier s'esgagera dans ce mois plus beau une belle saison neuve esclerera, bien heureux l'esprit que la grace de Dieux, par i ceux jours a voulu reserver quand le grand pasteur tout a un rangera, pasteurs et bétail hors seront les erreurs nettement éclairés d'une sainte ardeur, vérité devolant. En ce sera alors quand toutes les planètes seront, conjointes au signe d'Arie, et en le temps qu'on verra tous les états être à gré, et justice à son degré et une seule sainte église veiller, et les Roys et Princes de la terre bien conseillez, et la noblesse de mesure, et les impots moderez, et un seul Dieu adoré; alors mes prophities seront parachevês, car de l'advenir par quelque conjecture un art, certain, procedant de nature diviner

have been cherished at the court of Henry and Catherine, and was little counteracted by the process of her brilliant education; in which the memory appears to have been cultivated, and the imagination constantly stimulated, whilst the reasoning powers were held in strict subordination to certain legitimate systems of opinion. In other respects, she appears to have been guarded, as carefully as was compatible with her situation, from whatever could corrupt her mind or manners; the presence of a youthful Princess imposed restraint on all who approached her; and, if we may believe St. Foix, no impropriety of speech was permitted to her attendants. If such was the plan pursued with the two elder daughters of Henry and Catherine, the Queen of Spain, and Claude, Duchess of Lorrain, it may naturally be inferred, that it was equally adopted with Mary Stuart, who was educated to be the future Queen of France.*

From the age of twelve, the children of France not only took their place in public festivals, but, occasionally, appeared

est a l'homme donne, de l'Eternel, depuis que l'homme est né, d'estre divin en l'ame, l'ame s'il divine c'est de son estre, en premier origine puis c'est le ciel figurat en ce corps de ce mode, ou accords ou discords, le quel prenant les jugements sinistres et prognostiques, guidé d'un seul Dieu Pere sur heretiques, il ouvrira la porte, en suscisant l'église militaire."—Extracted from a *Book of Prophecies*, published in 1559.

* Essays on Paris.

at the evening spectacles. In the afternoon, the Princesses were assembled in the Queen's private apartment, where she usually spent two or three hours in embroidery, with her female attendants; and where it sometimes happened, that an ambassador, or other great personage, was introduced to Catherine, and by her received with becoming majesty and affability. On such occasions, says Conæus, it was observed, "that Mary Stuart had neither eye nor ear but for her elect stepmother; that she eagerly treasured every word that fell from her lips, watched her looks, imitated her motions, and evidently was anxious to form herself upon the accomplished model before her."

Catherine having once demanded of the young Queen why she seemed to prefer her society to that of youthful and more suitable companions? the polished Mary replied, "that with them she might, indeed, enjoy much, but could learn nothing; whilst in her Majesty's wisdom and affability she found an example and a guide for her future life."* Catherine, naturally suspecting that Mary's humility was but the specious veil with which she disguised an ambitious impatience to supplant her on the throne, conceived for her an aversion, abstracted from the repugnance she already felt for one belonging to the house of Guise. The distaste of Catherine was increased when Mary's fine talents came to be unfolded, from

* Conæus in Jebb.

the conviction, however reluctantly admitted, that she was superior to her own daughters in native and acquired talents. On her part, the young queen was, perhaps, not slow to perceive the antipathy, and to requite it with equal hatred. It may be doubted, how far Catherine presumed to betray her imperious temper to the niece of Cardinal Lorrain; but if that be true, which Brantome affirms, of the unconquerable terror which her very name inspired in her favourite daughter, the Queen of Spain, it is not unlikely that her artificial suavity was, in private, often exchanged for violence and harshness no less calculated to excite alarm than to inspire disgust. During the visits to Catherine's apartments, the sombre labours of the needle were alternately enlivened by reading, by reciting verses, by relating stories, and, above all, by inventing devices, which, in that heraldic age, formed an essential part of a polite education. Although the composition of devices* was, strictly

* According to Estienne, "a device is simply a particular and rare concetto which is made by means of a similitude or comparison, having, for that purpose, the figure of something either natural (so it be not human) or artificial, accompanied with acute, subtle, concise words. The device is extolled as the most concise and compendious form of communicating a thought or sentiment; as a single ray of the sun may illuminate a cavern, a single device enlightens the subject." The author then falls into a rhapsodical eulogy of his subject: "It delights the eye, it captivates the imagination, it is also profitable, and useful, and, therefore, surpasseth not only all other arts, but also painting, since this only represents the body and exqui-

speaking, an art in which knowledge and judgment were alike necessary, it had long been pursued by the brave and the fair, with little attention to science or criticism, and by the

site features of the face, whereas a device exposes the rare ideas and gallant sentiments of its author, far more perspicuously than physiognomy, by the proportions and lineaments of the face; it also excels poetry, inasmuch as it joineth profit with pleasure, since none merit the title of devices unless they at once please by their grace, and yield profit by their doctrine."

The author proceeds to prove that devices have a tendency to improve the character:—"He who has once propounded a virtuous sentiment in a device, is obliged ever after to appear to all the world such as he hath declared himself, as if it were an obligation signed with his own hand, and sealed with his seal, which should constrain him never to depart from the practice of virtue."

The utility of devices is then insisted on, by facilitating the interchange of sentiment.

"A lover may use it as the spokesman of his affections to his mistress; a master to his servitor; a prince to his officers or subjects. A device presents itself to the eyes of all the world, being placed upon frontispieces of houses, in galleries, upon arms, and a thousand other places, whence it becomes a delightful object to the sight, and compels us to become acquainted with the conceptions of its author."

"'Tis true," continues the author, "this art is one of the most difficult, and doth only appear facile to those that did never practise it. Read Hannibal Caro upon this subject, who writes to the Duchess d'Urbino,—Devices are not things which are met with in books, or which are made according to the sudden fancy of an author; they require long meditation, and it seldom happens that they

ladies, more especially, was attempted, without other requisites than sentiment and taste.

Margaret, Queen of Navarre, had excelled in this elegant species of trifling, in which her niece, the Princess Margaret, was equally felicitous. Catherine herself was, in this pursuit, the successful rival of the Duchess de Valentinois; and with this art, in after life, Mary Stuart beguiled many solitary hours of her unhappy existence.

Although the young queen occupied apartments in the royal palace, it was only on extraordinary occasions that she joined the royal family, and either in honour of some religious festival, or grand national exhibition. It must have been on one of those public days that she delivered, at the Louvre, the oration on the advantage resulting from female cultivation, so much extolled by contemporary writers. She was also some-

are created by a sudden sally of wit, though such sallies are sometimes better than those for which we have pumped a long time."

"Five conditions are required in the device:

"1st, A just proportion of the soul to the body.

"2d, That it present agreeable images, the human form alone excluded.

"3d, That it be not so obscure as to need a sibyl to expound it.

"4th, and 5th, And that the motto be not in the vulgar tongue; to this, it is added, that the motto be concise and terse, not obscure; that it be not too fantastic, but rather express an ingenious sentiment."—*The Art of making Devices:* translated from the French of Estienne Sieur de Fossé, by Thomas Blount, Esq. Published in 1640.

times seen to dance, with her father-in-law elect, the decorous passamento del Espagne (or minuet), and once confronted Anne of Este in a gaillarde, or fancy dance, when it was remarked, that the aunt eclipsed the niece in grace and loveliness.

At stated seasons, Mary walked in those grand religious processions, in which every lady carried a lighted torch, or bore in her right hand the palm of triumph; and there is a traditional anecdote that her fair and blooming complexion once extorted from a woman of the lower class the enthusiastic exclamation of "Are you not, indeed, an angel?" It appears somewhat extraordinary that there should be so little traditionary information respecting Mary's early residence in France, but it should be recollected that though contracted to the Dauphin, she was, by the French nobility, regarded only as a Scottish Queen, and, what to the major part was decidedly displeasing, her interests were identified with those of the princes of Guise, against whose arrogance and ambition an inveterate prejudice subsisted. To this it may be added, that it formed a part of Catherine's policy to throw a shade of obscurity over one whose beauty and promising talents already alarmed her suspicious vigilance. Instead, therefore, of finding Mary included in the number of those princesses who graced the nuptials of a Duchess de Castro, or a Mademoiselle de Nemours, we discover that, at

stated seasons she returned to the austere privacy of a convent;* that she was frequently domesticated with the amiable Anne of Este, by whom she was tenderly beloved; and sometimes committed to the superintendence of her widowed grandmother, Antoinetta of Bourbon, whose rigid principles and solemn aspect inspired veneration or awe in all who approached her presence.†

In visiting alternately the Duke of Guise and his august

* During Passion Week she is said to have gone to the convent of St. Genevieve, in the library of which ancient church is still preserved her portrait by Zucchero, taken at the age of seventeen, and presented by herself, after the death of Francis the Second.

† The following letter was addressed by Mary to her mother when she was about twelve years of age: the original is still extant in the Advocate's library at Edinburgh; and it sufficiently demonstrates how closely she was superintended by her maternal relatives:—

"Madame,

"J'ai este bie naise d'avoir trouvé l'opportunité si bonne de vous ecrire, comme je tien encor en ce lieu de Meudon avec Madame ma grandmère, où le Roy et la Royne doivent venir juidi prochain au bâteme de mon petit cousin. Mon oncle Monsieur le Cardinal m'a fait entendre comme tous les seigneurs de mon royaume ont bonne volonté de vous obeir et faire pour vous et pour moi ce qui vous plaira a leur commander de quoi je leur scai très-bon gré, et en suis bien joieuse, désirant bien fort scavoir de vos nouvelles, et en les attendant je présenterai mes tres-humbles recommendations à votre bonne grâce. Priant Dieu vous donner, Madame, une santé très-heureuse et longue vie. Votres très-humble, et très-obéissante fille Marie, Madame encore que soit pour vous remercier."

mother, Mary was presented with a strongly contrasted specimen of modern and antiquated manners. In the apartments of Anne of Este everything breathed of elegance, amenity, and taste: with all the softness of her sex, this princess appeared to delight in the performance of her domestic duties, yet occasionally mingled without repugnance in the gayeties of the world, and accepted without scruple the homage spontaneously offered to high-bred beauty. By her mother-in-law, the duchess dowager of Guise, on the contrary, the world was shunned and condemned; but in disclaiming its pomps and vanities, she renounced not the pride of ancestry, and gloried in reminding her children that their progenitors had ever been the faithful supporters of the Romish hierarchy, and that René, Duke of Lorrain, had been the first to draw the sword against the abominable heresies of Luther. As long as she remained under this lady's roof, Mary heard little of the court or its transcendent pleasures, but much of the pope, and the paramount duty of yielding him implicit obedience; and she was strenuously admonished to maintain the Catholic faith in unblemished and inviolable purity. From her aunt, the gentle Anne of Este, her mother's affectionate friend,* she certainly received no lessons of bigotry or intolerance; but though that princess affected not austerity, she had little relish for

* See letters from this princess to Anne of Este, at the end of the volume.

dissipation, and never attended any public spectacle at which her husband was not present. It has been pretended that she was long passionately beloved by the Duke de Nemours, who from his intimacy with the Duke of Guise had familiar access to her society. But this surmise, which rests on no better foundation than vulgar calumny, is absolutely disproved by the cordial intimacy which the Duke of Guise maintained with the pretended lover of his consort, whose conduct both in the conjugal and maternal relations was unsullied with reproach. Nor is it credible that a high-spirited son of Lorrain should have patiently witnessed attentions derogatory to his own honour, and to her reputation whom he was bound to protect.*

On the whole, it cannot be doubted, that the period of† Mary's education formed the best, if not the only happy portion of her existence: encircled by the companions of her infancy, intimately associated with her maternal relatives and the two elder sisters of her future husband, she was constantly presented with objects that awakened sympathy and excited emulation; whilst the elegant pursuits of literature beguiled the cares and solaced the chagrins incident to a state of dependence. It should also be remembered that, instead of

* In his Historical Drama of Francis the Second, Henault supposes a platonic attachment to have existed between the Duke de Nemours and the Duchess of Guise, but at the same time ingenuously acknowledges that history lends no countenance to the suggestion.

† See note at the end of the volume.

being immured in academic walls, she was accustomed to repeat her lessons in elocution in the gardens of Villars Cotterets, or to read the Roman poets and philosophers beneath the majestic oaks of Fontainebleau ;* and that the labour of application was softened by the smiling aspect and congenial influence of nature. Amidst her various avocations, she had little reason to repine, when she saw herself excluded from the brilliant scenes in which the two elder Princesses Elizabeth and Claude were allowed to participate ; nor were her murmurs excited by those restrictions which the policy of Catherine, the pride of the Guises, or even the respect due to her acknowledged rank and pretensions, imposed on her own movements.

In comparing the relative situations of Mary Stuart and the daughters of France, it must not be inferred that the young princesses Elizabeth and Claude, or any of their sister-pupils, were allowed to take an active share in the diversions, which, day after day, were produced in unceasing rotation. Of those ever-varied amusements, Vincent Carloix and Brantome have transmitted a description,† which portrays the domestic habits of the French nobility, and in what manner they were accustomed to live with their gentle sovereign.

* The palace of Fontainebleau was erected on the site of a cloister originally founded by St. Louis. It was the favourite residence of Francis the First.

† See also Laboureur, the most minute and faithful of all French writers: also Varillas and Mathieu.

At seven the King rose, and, according to a practice that prevailed with all his successors, admitted gentlemen from the provinces, and other individuals who came on business, and with whom he communicated till the hour of ten, when he went to mass to show his devotion, and immediately after to dinner, at which individuals of his own sex only were present. No sooner was this meal despatched, than he regularly paid a visit of two hours to the Queen's apartment, where he found the princes of the blood and the members of the royal family assembled in the inner chamber, whilst the ante-chamber was occupied by the lords and ladies of the court, and chiefly by accomplished cavaliers and youthful demoiselles, who, sanctioned by the presence of a gouvernante, carried on an animated conversation, to which love and chivalry, religion and politics, supplied an inexhaustible fund of interest and entertainment. It was here that, in the manner of a Spanish Tertulia, every gentleman might be allowed to engross the lady whom he preferred as a friend, a mistress, or a companion. Lovers might here whisper their amorous tales, and admirers express their respectful sentiments by some new device or ingenious emblem, felicitously adapted to the mysticism of romantic passion: nor was the jester Thony required to enliven this scene of social pleasure.

With his family the King remained two hours, an interval agreeably employed not only in the relative performance of

his duties, but in making arrangements for the remainder of the day. To Henry the Second horses and dogs were favourite objects; hunting and jousting his darling amusements: these furnished copious topics of conversation, and concealed even from himself his paucity of ideas. If it was his first wish to pursue the chase, his next impulse was to induce the ladies to join in the exercise; or he would, perhaps, play at tennis in the royal gardens, where the Queen and her dames must witness his adroitness from their well known balcony. In winter, frost and snow brought a rich accession to the royal pastimes; it was delightful to skate on the lakes or ponds of Fontainebleau, where those who glided on without impediment did well, still better those who, by slipping down, furnished an occasion for hearty merriment to the illustrious spectators. Under the same hibernal auspices they ventured sometimes to construct a fortress of ice, when the assailants battered each other unmercifully with snowballs, the ladies laughing and applauding by turns. A rainy day was somewhat afflictive to Henry, and to those who combined activity of body with indolence of mind; but the inventive genius of Catherine produced a ballet for the evening, or the Princess Margaret patronized the recitation of a poem; or Diana de Poictiers composed a new and ingenious device: or, at the very worst, the professed fool,* the little Thony, equally caressed by the King

* This fortunate fool was a native of Picardy, and, by his mother,

and courtiers, was always ready to extract laughter by his clownish blunders, his bodily wit, and real or affected simplicity. It is not to be denied that in spite of its improvements, the court of Henry the Second religiously cherished this satellite of barbarous and unlettered sovereigns.

In addition to those grand resources, Henry played at dice; and we are assured that he was commonly successful, although he always declined accepting what he had won: twice a week, too, there was a regular ball, according to Catherine de Medicis, to satisfy the nobility, who, without singing and dancing, could never be kept in good

destined for the church. Originally he had been in the service of Henry's younger brother, the Duke of Orleans: at first, says Brantome, "he was a downright simpleton, but in time, thanks to the gallanting and refinements of the court, and the good lessons of his masters, Guy, and La Force, he became such (no offence to Triboulet and Sibolet) that Monsieur Ronsard, by the king's express command, deigned to make him the theme of one of his inscriptions, as if he had been the wisest man in France." On the death of the Duke of Orleans, Thony was transferred to Henry, who indulged him to excess, as did Monsieur, the Constable, whom he was accustomed to call his father. "Thony was observed to be as shrewd as other courtiers, in making advances to the prosperous, and shunning the unfortunate; was any one in favour, Thony persecuted him with love; was he in disgrace, Thony turned his back on him. The Constable was, however, always constant to Thony, who sat by his side at dinner, and was feasted like a little king." Brantome's *Life of Anne Montmorency*. (See note at the end of this volume.)

humour.* With the help of these potent auxiliaries, the court was, probably, never quite irksome to Henry; and, on gala-days, perhaps satisfied the Constable Montmorency; to Andelot or Coligny, it must have been uniformly dull and monotonous; and never but during a tournament, or on the eve of a battle, absorbed the restless ambition of the Duke of Guise. To the superficial observer, this imposing scene of royalty and nobility assumed the attractive aspect of a temple dedicated to courtesy and pleasure, a magic world adorned with a rich and everlasting spring of youthful enthusiasm, romantic grace, and refulgent beauty. But on a more attentive survey, it was discovered that ennui and discontent mingled in every scene, however fair and specious. The perfect conformity of sentiment and taste which was required in this numerous society often imposed restrictions and vexations on the individual not less imperative and even more revolting than the rules of a monastic community. To be constrained to laugh without gayety, to dance or revel without inclination, was often irksome as the livelong fast, or midnight vigil. To relieve this monotony, the chief and never failing resource appears to have been ridicule; personal peculiarities were with avidity sought and seized, to create mirth

* See Catherine's Instructions to Charles the Ninth, in Laboureur, tome ii. p. 490.

less innocent than that extracted from the simple Thony Neither the valour nor the magnanimity of Coligny protected from a sneer his habitual use of the toothpick;* nor did the great Constable himself escape sarcasm, at the expense of his paternosters.† The discomfiture which that veteran had once experienced in the preceding reign, at the instigation of Margaret, Queen of Navarre (confessedly one of the most amiable women of her age), was still remembered and relished in the time of Henry the Second, and furnished many a frivolous stripling with an opportunity of satirizing the majestic warrior.‡

* Admiral Coligny, who was habitually subject to fits of abstraction, and who spoke slowly and with some degree of hesitation, almost constantly used his toothpick when engaged in serious conversation.—*Vie de Gaspar Coligny.*

† It became a proverb, to "beware of the Constable's paternosters," originating in that great commander's practice of mechanically muttering at a certain hour his devotional exercises, without suspending his ordinary avocations; whence it happened, that he sometimes broke forth into exclamations of ludicrous incongruity; as, "Go take such a one; hang up that man to yonder tree; cut that rascal down; set fire to yonder village," &c.; "never, however, deviating from his paternosters," adds Brantome, "till he had made an end of them, not thinking it right to defer this devotion to another hour, so strictly was he conscientious."—See Brantome, *Vie de Anne Montmorency.*

‡ When the Princess Jane of Navarre was married by proxy to the Duke of Cleves, Queen Margaret, who thought herself thwarted by the Constable, imposed on him the unsuitable office of carrying

Little as Mary Stuart appears to have mingled in the galas of Henry and Catherine, it is not to be supposed that she could remain in ignorance of the envy, the duplicity, and hypocrisy, that prevailed in their polished circles; and the scandal of the day, however embellished or disguised, must have made its way to her apartments. It is, however, but fair to add, that an unequivocal proof of female frailty was uniformly visited with obloquy and contempt; and in the younger part of the sex, in some instances, punished with unsparing rigour. To account for this, it should be recollected, that the majority of the female nobility were transplanted from the provinces, where the primitive system of manners had not been superseded; and there were even some distinguished statesmen, whose female relatives had never been permitted to approach the capital, and who continued to occupy the castles and retain the habits of their ancestors. Of this number was the Marquis de Vieilleville, of whose character and conduct an admirable account has been transmitted by his secretary. Vincent Carloix, one of the most agreeable narrators of the age, and whose work is the more worthy of attention, as his illustrious hero will be found to represent a numerous class of nobles, who, during the reign of Henry the Second, persisted in a sort

the little Princess, loaded with gold and jewels, to church; the Constable complied with an ill grace, and his visible vexation and awkwardness diverted the whole court.—Brantome —Varillas.

of religious neutrality, apparently as little disposed to encourage innovation, as to sanction persecution; too patriotic not to prefer the interests of the commonwealth to the pretensions of the church; yet too cautious, perhaps even too superstitious, not to shrink from the subversion of ancient establishments. To this class belonged many whom the rancour of party or the subtilty of political intrigues afterwards forced within the pale of the Calvinistic or Catholic belligerents; they were the Liberals of the day, and at this time could boast even of the enlightened Chatillons, the honourable Mauvessiere,* the sagacious Maître L'Hôpital, and in general of the best informed and most virtuous part of the community. Francis Scepeaux, Sieur de Vieilleville, originally distinguished as a page of honour to Louisa, the mother of Francis the First, became eminently conspicuous in the wars of Italy, and appears to have combined the rigid discipline and punctilious honour of elder times, with the amenity and versatility of a modern cavalier. In the court of Henry he was the Ulysses who composed differences, prevented quarrels, and smoothed embarrassments. More than once he had rendered to his feeble sovereign the important service of restoring concord among jealous rivals: the luxurious Marechal St. Andre, the great Montmorency, the imperious Diana, even confessed, by

* Better known as the Marquis de Castelnau, author of the Memoirs.

turns, his secret influence. Although Vieilleville never realized the fortune obtained by his more intriguing compeers, his military services procured him the government of Metz, and his approved probity secured to him the esteem and confidence of each contending party: but with whatever address he conciliated the court, in his chateau of Duretal* he preserved the air of a primitive paladin. His wife lived in retirement, and, in the manner of provincial matrons, devoted herself to the education of her children, and the superintendence of her numerous household.† The eldest daughter married early a

* Duretal beautifully situated on the banks of the Loire. According to Vincent Carloix, the territory of Orleans was in his time considered the garden of France, the road to the capital was enlivened with chateaux and villages,—insomuch, says the author, that even Nancy seemed to be but the suburb of Paris.

† When the Marquis de Vieilleville visited the Marquis D'Epinay, the father of his intended son-in-law, who resided in Brittany, he was received in a style of patriarchal magnificence; and for several days the chateau presented a scene of true feudal pomp and old Gallic festivity. At all hours, strangers regaled in the hall, an immense number of nobles were collected in honour of the guests, and exquisite viands and exhilarating pastimes were offered for their entertainment; but it was only in the dance that the two sexes intermingled. In the morning especially, the ladies and gentlemen had different pursuits. Nor did custom authorize their sitting at at the same table. During the feast Madame D'Epinay, who was aware of her son's approaching departure with M. de Vieilleville, like a careful housewife provided for his own use twelve horses, two mules for his wardrobe, and a wagon drawn by four horses for the

young nobleman of Brittany, and exemplified the virtues she had witnessed under the paternal roof; for her younger sister, Jane, was reserved a more brilliant, though perhaps less happy destiny. In a royal visit to M. de Vieilleville, Catherine de Medicis demanded of her parents the demoiselle Jane, to be educated under her own eye, with other girls of illustrious birth, and at a proper age, enrolled in the number of her attending ladies.

The proposal was too flattering to ambition to be rejected, and Jane was immediately transferred from the paternal roof to the palace of St. Germain, where she saw herself associated with Mademoiselle de Nemours, and several princesses of the blood, over whom the same governess presided; but, however Catherine might be disposed to shower favours on her young charge, she could not, whilst she remained unmarried, admit

baggage of his attendants, who were composed of three domestics and two pages. She was also careful to deposit in his chests seven thousand crowns, which she conceived to be fully adequate to his personal expenses. The young lady destined to be his bride, was Margaret, eldest daughter of M. de Vieilleville. Educated in the chateau of Duretal, and in the strict observance of domestic duties, she was no sooner seen than beloved by her future husband. That this fair recluse was no less discreet than beautiful, may be inferred from her modestly contenting herself with the title of Mademoiselle during the life of her mother-in-law D'Epinay;—an example of modesty and propriety scarcely to be appreciated by those who live in the nineteenth century.

her to a class more exalted than the filles de la Reine; the envied rank of fille d'honneur, or maid of honour, being exclusively appropriated to princesses of the blood, of whom six or eight constantly followed in the train of the arrogant descendant of the Medicis. Among these was the unfortunate Mademoiselle de Rohan, whose imprudent conduct gave rise, in 1555, to a schism in the princes of the blood, and to an animated and obstinate contest among the privileged orders.

Frances Rohan* was not only of royal birth, but nearly allied to the King of France, celebrated for her wit and beauty, and, till she conceived a fatal passion for the Duke of Nemours, of unblemished reputation. To that libertine prince she madly surrendered her honour, under a solemn promise of marriage, of which her kinsmen, Anthony and Louis Bourbon, imperatively demanded the fulfilment. But their remonstrances were received with contempt; the haughty Duke not only renounced the woman he had learnt to despise, but, adding calumny to perfidy, disclaimed all interest in the child to whom she had given birth, and actually professed to believe she had another paramour. Outraged by an accusation, of which the falsehood was notorious, the unhappy lady had no alternative but to take refuge in Navarre, under the protection of Anthony Bourbon, who was one of her nearest relatives,

* Daughter of René, first Duke of Rohan, and Isabella d'Albret, cousin-german to Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre.

and institute a legal process for breach of contract against her perfidious lover. The high rank of the parties created for them a strong sympathy in the privileged orders. Henry felt himself in some degree implicated in the disgrace of a lady who had the honour of his alliance; but after a long-protracted litigation, the Duke of Nemours preserved his freedom, and Frances Rohan, who persisted in maintaining her conjugal fidelity, assumed the style of Mademoiselle Garnache, and after an interval of some years, was put into possession of certain estates, with the title of Duchess de Lodunois.*

The emotion excited by Mademoiselle de Rohan's situation had scarcely subsided, when the attention of the court was transferred to a more interesting object; the young and virtuous Jane Halluin, the daughter of the Sieur de Pienne, who, though she formed no pretensions to royal lineage, was

* In the memoirs of Ribier, it appears that in the year 1557, an application having been made by the Prince of Transylvania to espouse a daughter of France, the king recommended the election of Mademoiselle Rohan; but from same cause unexplained the overture was not accepted. Although this lady lost her process against the Duke of Nemours in 1556, her pretensions were still supported by her royal relatives; and by some French historians it is affirmed that, but for the Calvinistic principles embraced by her family, which offended the court, the duke would have been compelled to render justice to her, and to establish the legitimacy of her son, who was designated the Prince de Genevois, and distinguished himself in the civil wars of France.—Varillas.—Garnier.—Laboureur.

descended from one of the most ancient houses in France, and, like Mademoiselle de Vieilleville, was among the fair satellites of Catherine de Medicis. From childhood attached to the court, she soon engaged the attention of Francis de Montmorency, the eldest son of the great Constable, one of the gallant cavaliers of the day, and, like his father, no less impassioned for military glory than the chivalric heroes who belonged to the age of Louis the Twelfth. The progress of this juvenile intimacy was checked by the fortune of war, by which Francis was made a prisoner in Flanders, where he remained three years in captivity, an interval that he wisely employed in repairing the deficiencies of his education, from which the Constable had obstinately withheld the advantages of classical literature; nor till he found himself thrown on his own resources, did Francis discover that books were valuable companions: then the prison became the study of the unfortunate soldier; and by steady application he acquired, during his detention, a familiar acquaintance with the best Latin and Italian authors. On returning to France, in 1555, he was received by his family with transports of joy, and by his sovereign with almost parental affection; but the court presented to him no object so attractive as Jane Halluin, who had now reached her nineteenth year, embellished with all the graces and accomplishments of her sex, and confessedly among the fairest in the train of her royal mistress. A mutual affection

was created in the youthful pair, who readily exchanged vows of love and reciprocal fidelity.

But it was not long before Jane suspected that the Constable aspired to a more ambitious alliance: Diana of France, by the death of the Duke de Castro, was at the age of seventeen become a widow, and rumour whispered, that Francis Montmorency was chosen by the King to be her future husband. Jane imparted her surmise to Francis Montmorency, who, to appease her jealous solicitudes, put into her possession a written promise of marriage, which, according to the laws at that time existing in France and other countries of Europe, appears to have been equivalent to a solemn betrothment, and to have incapacitated the contracting parties from any subsequent engagement. In a short time the apprehensions of his mistress were justified by a formal communication from the Constable, in which he announced to the young Montmorency the honour intended him by his gracious sovereign. Whether he had hitherto been blind to his son's attachment, or whether he was persuaded that all other passions, even in a youthful breast, must confess the omnipotence of ambition, his astonishment was unspeakable, when Francis replied, in the language of a lover, that he could not in this instance avail himself of his master's condescension, having in an unguarded moment furnished Jane Halluin with a written document, which even royal authority could not cancel. From the Constable's general character it

might have been expected that his surprise and disappointment should be vented in menaces and maledictions; but, in this instance, prudence having taught him to subdue resentment, he had recourse to prayers and supplications; and pathetically represented the necessity of counteracting the machinations of the house of Guise, and of fortifying his family with an alliance which, in any future emergency, might secure to them safety and protection. Against such arguments Francis reurged the existence of the promise so indiscreetly confided to Mademoiselle de Pienne, but which was imperatively binding on his honour. In that age scarcely any limits were offered to parental authority; and Francis had been too long habituated to submission not to qualify his refusal with conditional promises of obedience, which encouraged the Constable to believe, that to succeed with the lover, he had merely to persuade the lady to relinquish the contract; but he found this no easy task. Relying on the stability of her Montmorency's affections, Jane resisted his importunities, alleging that the vows which had been pronounced before God could never be recalled; and as the former had sanctified his disobedience by the name of honour, in like manner she fortified her opposition by appealing to the paramount duty of conscience. Provoked by her firmness, the Constable discarded tenderness and pity, and, affecting to consider her as an artful woman, who had taken advantage of his son's weakness, to inveigle him into an

engagement, caused her to be judicially examined before the Bishop of Paris, on the grounds of her refusal to relinquish the contract. It was within the walls of the Louvre, so often the scene of her innocent pleasures, that the examination took place; and to render it more formidable, it was in the presence of Cardinal Lorrain, of the Archbishop of Viennes, the Bishop of Paris, the President of the Parliament, that Jane was arraigned as the most insidious of her sex; at the first glance, the charge of seduction was discredited by the comparison of her blooming youth with the riper years of Francis Montmorency, whilst her answers were given with an artless simplicity that forcibly repelled the suspicion of artifice which had been insinuated against her. In reality, the statement contained little more than the ordinary process of juvenile attachment. Five years had elapsed since Francis professed to love, and intimated his wishes to espouse her; to which she objected, from the well-grounded apprehension that his father would look for a higher alliance. To silence her scruples, he had proposed a long probation, believing that, by patience and exemplary filial obedience, he should finally succeed in obtaining the parental benediction. During his imprisonment, they had corresponded: on his return to France, he resumed his professions with increased ardour; yet she insisted, and this declaration was obviously made with the hope of averting from them the Constable's vengeance, that to her own relatives she

had never disclosed their attachment. She protested also that she had never accepted from him a present, or received any other pledge of fidelity than the nuptial contract; but she frankly acknowledged the alarm she had experienced in hearing of the projected alliance with the Duchess de Castro. Nor, though eager to screen her lover from parental resentment, did she dissemble that he had persisted in renewing his vows of fidelity; and that, even "yesterday, beneath his father's roof, he had reiterated professions of unalterable attachment." In her own defence she alleged, that if she had erred in listening to him, it must be imputed to her ignorance, having never suspected that clandestine engagements were unlawful, even though they should have been contracted without the consent of father and mother, since marriage, she added, with modest firmness, was a sacrament of the church, and originally ordained by God himself: for all other questions, she referred her examiners to Francis Montmorency, whom she must continue to regard as her betrothed husband. The deposition of Jane Halluin was confirmed by that of her more timid lover; yet, when reminded of the filial duties which he had violated by his written promise, he replied, evasively, that at the moment he committed the folly, he had forgotten to weigh the consequences of his indiscretion, but that if the past could be recalled, he should probably act with more consideration. As this subterfuge had been anticipated by Jane, she perhaps

drew from it no gloomy presage; and when it was demanded of the young Montmorency if he would abide by the testimony of Mademoiselle de Pienne, he replied, with warmth, "that she had too much nobleness ever to deviate from truth."

The result of this examination being unsatisfactory to both parties, the Constable obliged his son to go to Rome, to solicit from the Pope (Paul the Fourth) the cassation of the contract; and effectually to prevent any future intercourse or correspondence between the lovers, he procured an arbitrary mandate from the court, for shutting up Jane Halluin in the convent of the Filles Dieu, at Paris.

On leaving the capital, it was probably the intention of Francis Montmorency rather to impede than accelerate the termination of the cause, of which he was ostensibly the suitor; but, whilst time and absence insensibly diminished his juvenile passion, his resentment, if not his ambition, was excited by the discovery, not only that his father's plea was tacitly rejected by the Pope, but that it was indirectly traversed by the agency of Cardinal Lorrain, who, dreading the accession of power which a royal alliance was likely to secure to the house of Montmorency, adroitly insinuated to the Pontiff that the young Diana would be better bestowed on one of his kinsmen (the rapacious Caraffas) than on the son of that stubborn minister, who had never cordially co-operated with his Holiness in any political or religious speculation for the welfare of Eu-

rope. By this artful management, the cassation of the pretended marriage of Mademoiselle de Pienne became an affair of state, scarcely less complicated, with the intrigues of rival statesmen, than the question of divorce formerly so long agitated between Henry the Eighth and Catherine of Arragon.

During these various speculations, the unfortunate victim of the Constable's displeasure languished within her conventual prison, without the solace of friendship, or the sympathy of kindred connexions. For the frail Mademoiselle Rohan, there had been more than one royal champion, and, in her own family, a powerful confederacy of protectors; but the virtuous Jane Halluin remained without a single advocate; neither kinsman nor friend had the temerity to espouse her cause in defiance of the King and his minister. Left to herself, and bereaved of all support, save that which hope and fancy minister to susceptible minds, she relied with truly feminine credulity on her lover's constancy and affection, little suspecting that with him the romance of fancy had ended. After a tedious interval of suspense, she heard one evening, with more surprise than joy, that two gentlemen of Montmorency's suite were arrived from Rome, and, by a special order from the King, demanded access to her presence. At the sight of M. de la Porte, the private secretary, whom Francis admitted to his familiar confidence, accompanied by several official personages, Jane was naturally led to conclude that some new scheme

was about to be unfolded; and when she observed with what cold constrained looks De la Porte presented her with a letter, in which she recognised Montmorency's hand, she could not but suspect what was preparing against her; this suspicion became certainty when she read as follows:

"Mademoiselle de Pienne,

"Having become fully sensible of the errors into which I was once betrayed by culpable rashness, by which I have equally transgressed against the laws of God, my duty to the King, and my honoured father and mother, I have frankly stated to the Pope in what manner the engagement came to take place between us, imploring of his Holiness absolution for my offences, which he has been graciously pleased to grant; at the same time, bestowing on me such a dispensation as restores to me my primitive liberty, of which I now write to apprise you; and, in order that we may both be exonerated from all pains or penalties otherwise incurred, I here renounce whatever words or promises have passed between us, not only absolving you from your engagements, but praying you, on your part, to hold yourself equally free, and to embrace any other suitable marriage, being resolved never to hold with you farther or more intimate communication. Not but that I esteem you virtuous and honourable, and nobly descended, but that I would disburden my conscience, and avert from both of us the calamities which might otherwise ensue, and, above all, obtain

from his Majesty and my parents, the remission of my former trespass, and so acquit myself of the duty I owe to God, of whom I supplicate that he may take you under his holy protection.—Rome, this 5th of February, from him whom you will find ever ready to serve you."

La Porte having first submitted this epistle to her private perusal, she was required to read it aloud, whilst a notary, who was in attendance, should make a transcript of its contents. In performing her painful task, Jane was probably sustained by the persuasion, which she avowed, that it contained not Montmorency's spontaneous sentiments. De la Porte suffered her not to retain this illusion.

"Mademoiselle, all that I have to say, is on the part of M. Montmorency. You have seen, by his letter, how much he deplores having so deeply offended God and the King, my lord the Constable, and madame his mother, in proposing marriage without their knowledge and consent; that he is anxious to repair his fault; and, since your conduct has been so free from reproach, that your reputation cannot be compromised; and since the Pope has restored to him the full liberty of contracting marriage whenever he shall so please; for all these reasons, I declare to you, by his express command, that he releases you from all vows and promises of fidelity, beseeching and requiring you, on your part, to declare that you hold him free to contract another engagement."

Jane listened, not without weeping, and with difficulty replied: "M. de la Porte, I would rather the violation of those promises should come from M. de Montmorency than from me: he proves, by the conversation you have just held, that he has less courage than a woman, and that he falls short of that faith of which he boasted, when he said, he would rather lose his life than swerve from his purpose; he has deceived my expectations; and I now perceive he would rather be rich and great than honourable."

"Mademoiselle, M. de Montmorency knows you to be virtuous and well descended, as he has already written; he is also, himself, of a noble and ancient house, educated in principles of probity and integrity; nor does he impeach his honour by renouncing you; on the contrary, he repairs by it a grievous fault, already committed; and, forasmuch as he makes this reparation, by the authority and dispensation of the Pope, it will be for your mutual advantage to be released one from the other; and, on this point, Mademoiselle, I wait, if it please you, your answer."

"What answer would you have from me, M. de la Porte? if he really had the heart to write that letter?" Then, after shedding bitter tears, she resumed: "If it be the pleasure of M. de Montmorency so to quit me, and to renounce all the promises between us, I neither can nor will interfere with his inclination so to do."

De la Porte replied, "M. de Montmorency renounces you for reasons that you must allow to be unanswerable; and I pray you, therefore, to tell me, whether you are, on your part, equally willing to release him."

"M. de la Porte, since it is the choice of M. de Montmorency to renounce me, I have not the power, nor even the will, to prevent him, and his wishes shall henceforth be mine."

"Mademoiselle, M. de Montmorency renounces you, because, in making his former promise of marriage, he had justly incurred censure; and because the Pope, who is our superior, having dispensed with his vows, M. de Montmorency is restored to whatever liberty he enjoyed before he contracted them, and the Pope being our superior cannot do wrong; therefore, M. de Montmorency entreats you to write as he has written, and to resume your liberty according to his example."

"M. de la Porte, since M. de Montmorency has really thought proper to renounce all the promises which have passed between us, though he were the son of a monarch, having written to me such a letter as that which I have just read, I would not be his wife; and, from my heart, and for ever, I do renounce him. At the same time, I can scarcely believe, he should have actually penned sentiments so different from all I have ever before received."

"Mademoiselle, I solemnly assure you, I saw that letter written entirely by M. de Montmorency's own hand."

"Yes; but it is in a style far other than he has been accustomed to use towards me; and, now may I ask, whether you have more to require of me?"

De la Porte having replied in the negative, she took her leave with the following words: "M. de la Porte, I beseech you to offer my humble service to M. de Montmorency, also to M. de Damville; and though you have witnessed my tears, I pray you, assure M. de Montmorency, that they are not for any regret I experience in renouncing him, since he has thought fit to write what I have now read; for, against his own wishes, be assured, I would not retain him."*

After the departure of M. de la Porte, Jane, who was still immured in her convent, remained in ignorance of the deception which had been practised upon her inexperience; the Pope having not only refused to grant the dispensation, which De la Porte pretended to have received, but, by referring the affair to the consideration of the consistorial court, actually excited the suspicion, that he meant totally to frustrate the application. Unprotected by her family, deserted by her friends, Jane had, unexpectedly, found in Paul the Fourth, and the Caraffas, sincere though selfish partisans, by whose artifices the King and his minister were so effectually counteracted, that the

* Copied from the original records by Laboureur, tome ii.

faithless Francis was finally recalled to France, without having achieved his purpose. In the meanwhile, Jane was wholly unconscious that her wrongs and sufferings were shared by her half-brother, Admiral Bonivet (one of the bravest men of his age), the only individual who presumed, in her behalf, to confront the power, and insult the authority of Henry and Montmorency. No sooner had he heard of her arbitrary detention in the convent, than from a distant province he hastened to Paris, not merely to remonstrate as a man, but to interpose as a soldier; but his generous interference served only to draw on himself the disgrace he wished to avert from Mademoiselle de Pienne. Despised and neglected, the mortification inflicted on his pride conspired, with the injury he had previously sustained by military service, to shorten his existence. But the death of Bonivet removed not the impediment to Montmorency's wishes; and, ultimately, the Pope and the Caraffas would have established, in defiance of opposition, the indissolubility of Mademoiselle de Pienne's engagement, had not the Constable, by a vigorous effort of authority, adroitly transferred the cause from ecclesiastical to civil jurisdiction; for this purpose he caused an edict to be registered in the parliament,*

* From Pasquier's Letters it appears, that the edict, though hailed with rapture by the heads of noble houses, was strongly disapproved by civilians and scholars, who had no personal interest to promote. Pasquier himself reprobates the injustice of permitting the father, for such a cause, to deprive an imprudent child of his inheritance.

by which, under the specious pretext of preventing mis-alliances in noble families, children were forbidden to marry without the consent of the father and mother; and it was even permitted to the parents to deprive of their natural inheritance, such as should be guilty of disobedience. In addition to these two prohibitory clauses, was added another, by virtue of which the law acquired a retroactive operation, and which was obviously

Many important consequences resulted from this law, which probably in some degree contributed to the demoralization subsequently introduced in France. In the *Causes Célèbres* will be found many examples of flagrant injustice, founded on the prerogatives given to the heads of families by the edict to prevent mis-alliance, which, though originally framed for the benefit of noble families, was soon extended to the inferior classes of society. In the *Journal du Règne du Roy, Hen.* 3, is mentioned an instance in which a young man named Tonart having contracted a private marriage with the daughter of a parliamentary president, in whose family he had lived as domestic secretary, was prosecuted for seduction, and actually convicted of that crime, of which the penalty was death. At the place of execution he was rescued by the indignant populace, by whom his pardon was finally obtained. It was alleged in his vindication, that he had been married to the girl, for whose imputed dishonour his life was to be forfeited: that the parents had no right to withhold consent on the plea of mis-alliance, since the father of the young man was competent to purchase him an *etat*, and the mother of the girl was merely the daughter of a petty tradesman, her father having sprung from a clerk of the Chatelet. Although these reasons ultimately prevailed, the King and Parliament resented the seditious spirit manifested in the rescue, and one of the persons concerned in it was condemned and actually executed.

intended to interpose an insuperable barrier between Jane Halluin and Francis Montmorency. By this supplemental provision not only were clandestine engagements forbidden, but unauthorized marriages declared null and void, unless the son should have completed his thirtieth, and the daughter attained her five-and-twentieth year.

Fortified with this edict, the Constable smiled at the fulminations of his pontifical adversary; and the nuptials of Francis and the Duchess de Castro, whose inclinations appear not to have been ever consulted, were solemnized with the utmost magnificence. Jane Halluin returned to court, and was cordially admitted to royal favour. According to the rules of romance, the forsaken maid who survived her grief should have dedicated herself to heaven; but an unmerited imprisonment had been ill calculated to inspire in Mademoiselle de Pienne a taste for conventual life. Her youth and vigorous constitution resisted the slow but insidious effects of disappointment, so often fatal to her sex; even indignation might perhaps in part protect her from a broken heart. This at least is certain, that she once more shone in the brilliant circles of the court, and that either pride or prudence taught her not only to meet with indifference the lover by whom she had been abandoned, but to receive with complacency the attentions of his royal bride, who, disclaiming the littleness of jealousy, with more arrogance than kindness affected to cul-

tivate her friendship. It will easily be conceived, that the position of Mademoiselle de Pienne was little enviable; but although she received many splendid offers of marriage, she rejected them with firmness—almost with disdain, and long persisted in the resolution she had magnanimously formed, to accept no vows that should be offered by a man inferior to Francis Montmorency. At length, when many years had elapsed, and time, without impairing her charms, had augmented the sensibilities of her character, she was, in a manner, surprised into an affection for Florimond Robertet, the Sieur d'Alluye, a junior secretary of state under Charles the Ninth. At the commencement of their acquaintance, Robertet solicited the mediation of the King of Navarre, and other princes of the blood, to promote his suit; but their interference would have been little likely to succeed with Jane Halluin, had the lover not found an advocate in her heart, that powerfully seconded their representations, and finally triumphed over the prejudices of pride, and even the distrust she had inevitably imbibed from experience. Of her married life nothing is recorded, but that she withdrew from the court to reside in a remote province, where, if she realized not the dreams of happiness, she at least enjoyed a tranquillity never tasted by her former lover, the proud, ambitious, enterprising Montmorency. Although it appears not that this illustrious Marechal of France condescended to regret Jane Halluin, it is evident that,

by the premature death of Henry the Second, he must have missed whatever advantages he had anticipated from a royal alliance. During the civil wars he became embroiled with the court, and, but for the mediation of his consort with Charles the Ninth, must have perished on the scaffold. Nor were these his only sources of mortification. Proud of his birth and rank, he passionately desired to transmit his riches and honours to his posterity; but this wish was destined to remain ungratified; no offspring blessed his union with Diana; and that some sentiments of compunction mingled with his disappointment may be detected from the eagerness with which he long after solicited from Rome a dispensation for his marriage with the Duchess de Castro, which had been contracted in contempt of papal authority, and to the prejudice of a prior engagement.*

* See in Laboureur a copious description of this nobleman's death, and the royal magnificence of his interment. His widow, who survived him many years, contracted no subsequent marriage.

CHAPTER V.

ABORTIVE EFFORTS OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS TO PREVENT THE FULFILMENT OF THE MARRIAGE TREATY BETWEEN THE QUEEN OF SCOTS AND THE DAUPHIN.—POPULARITY OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.—ARTIFICES OF CARDINAL LORRAIN.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE ESPOUSALS OF FRANCIS AND MARY.—DESCRIPTION OF THE NUPTIAL FESTIVITIES, TAKEN FROM AN OLD FRENCH CHRONICLE.—RAPID PROGRESS OF THE CALVINISTS.—THE ATTRACTION OF MAROT'S PSALMODY.—SKETCHES OF THE FEMALE CALVINISTIC LEADERS.—JANE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE.—THE DAME DE LA ROYE.—THE PRINCESS OF CONDE.—THE WIFE OF ADMIRAL COLIGNY.—MADAME D'ANDELOT.—MAGNANIMOUS TRAIT OF ANDELOT.—DISSENSIONS IN THE COURT.—DOMESTIC HABITS OF MARY AND FRANCIS.—HER ILL HEALTH.—HER ASSUMPTION OF THE ARMS OF ENGLAND.—HER INQUIETUDE RESPECTING THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.—MARRIAGES OF ELIZABETH OF FRANCE AND THE PRINCESS MARGARET, WITH PHILIP OF SPAIN AND PHILIBERT OF SAVOY.—ANNE DU BOURG.—HIS TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ROYAL NUPTIALS.—THE TOURNAMENT.—THE DEATH OF HENRY THE SECOND.—EXECUTION OF ANNE DU BOURG.

It was not without extreme dismay that the Princes of Lorrain beheld the consummation of the Constable's schemes for the aggrandizement of his family; and such was the alarm created by this new demonstration of his enormous influence, that they deemed it necessary to urge with vehemence the pro-

priety of hastening the marriage of the Dauphin Francis and the Queen of Scots. The delay had hitherto been excused by the extreme youth of the contracted parties; but against this favourite argument of Catherine, the uncles of Mary contended that the pretext was no longer tenable, since it was notorious that the nuptial benediction was frequently pronounced on royal and noble children of twelve years of age; and that the reigning Queen of France had actually been married to Henry when some months younger than their niece, who had entered her fifteenth year. To these representations, the Constable opposed sophistry, and Catherine blandishments; whilst the influence of Diana de Poictiers determined Henry to adhere to the engagement, which, with his wonted inconsistency, he suffered to be postponed. The feebleness of the King's character opened an inexhaustible source of speculation to the intriguing statesmen who flourished in his court, and who sought but to advance themselves on the ruin of their rivals.

During these petty conflicts of political skill, the younger and gayer courtiers were engrossed with the approaching nuptials of M. de Vaudemont (the governor of the Duke of Lorrain) and Mademoiselle de Nemours, the sister of James of Savoy. In contemplating her future residence in a country, which she perhaps considered as no less barbarous than a Scythian exile, she naturally became anxious to secure the

society of a few female friends, and above all, that of Jane de Vieilleville, with whom, during the last seven years, she had been intimately associated. Contrary to her wishes, the Marquis Vieilleville, who, in spite of his ambition, appears to have sought a convenient pretext to withdraw his daughter from the court, had secretly destined her for a young nobleman of Provence, who held under him a military appointment at Metz, and to whom he was so strongly attached, that, even without avowing his intentions in his favour, he rejected for his sake many advantageous overtures of alliance; but scarcely had he intimated to the Count de Saulx, that he was the object of his preference, than he was assailed by the importunities of the Marquis de Duilly, the Seneschal of Lorrain, on the part of his only son, than whom a more suitable consort could scarcely have been discovered for his younger daughter. To evade this application, to which it was difficult to oppose a plausible objection, M. de Vieilleville replied, that he could not pledge his word, till he should have ascertained how far his daughter's affections were still at his disposal. Having thus prepared the Marquis for rejection, he repaired to court accompanied by the Count de Saulx, whom he presented to his daughter in a manner that allowed her not to doubt he was likely to become her lover. As her father's friend, however, the Cavalier was graciously received, and immediately permitted, by the gouvernante, who presided over the young la-

dies, to attend daily in the Queen's ante-chamber, and to partake of those brilliant parties of pleasure, at which he was sure to meet his accomplished mistress; nor did the Count omit any of those minute attentions which were then held indispensable in him who aspired to a lady's favour. According to the usage of the times, he gave a succession of treats and entertainments, at which Mademoiselle de Vieilleville and her companions were luxuriously regaled under the auspices of the elderly dame before mentioned, who was not without her share in the offerings of generous love. Whilst the Count by his liberality conciliated the young lady's juvenile friends, he excited the envy of his rivals by his adroitness in running at the ring, by his success in jousting, and, above all, by his grace in dancing: for the latter accomplishment his reputation was completely established by the introduction of a new provincial dance, called the Volte de Provence (obviously to be identified with the modern waltz), which, in compliment to its master, was called le Saut de Saulx; but at the moment when his suit appeared most prosperous, and when M. de Vieilleville flattered himself his daughter's heart was devoted to his favourite, arrived the heir of the great Seneschal of Lorrain, with a letter from Madame de Vieilleville, who had not been apprised of her husband's views, and thought not of thwarting his intentions, when she furnished a simple introduction to her daughter's presence. No less accomplished than the

Count de Saulx, the young Duilly was, like him, caressed at court, gave treats and entertainments in honour of Jane de Vieilleville, and with juvenile emulation successfully introduced a provincial dance, les Branles de Poitou, which soon took place of the Volte de Provence; but a more fatal blow was levelled at De Saulx, by Mademoiselle de Nemours, who, from personal feelings, eagerly espoused the cause of his rival, and to her persuasions were added the prayers of the Princess Claude,* who, though not thirteen, eagerly anticipated the

* According to Vincent Carloix, this young princess, with affectionate feelings, had already acquired a large fund of worldly wisdom. Stealing to her favourite's chamber before she was dressed, she with tears besought her not to give to M. de Saulx any promise of marriage that might be prejudicial to the pretensions of M. de Duilly. "You are not ignorant," she continued, "that my marriage is soon to take place. In leaving my dear native country I shall be completely wretched, if I do not take with me some of my chosen companions, whom I have ever loved, that we may live and die together. In my heart I have chosen five or or six young ladies, amongst whom you hold the first place, for I love you dearly; nor does my mother esteem you less, because, as she observes, you have discretion, a quality rarely found in your companions, and are not prone to coquetry or scandal; and have never sown dissension in families, as is too frequently done. You know, Vieilleville, to whom I allude; and no sooner shall the Easter holidays expire, than you will see half a dozen of them dismissed in disgrace; among others, two who have been so imprudent as to propagate calumnies against a great lord and a great lady, who is a woman of unblemished honour; but you will hear enough of this presently. I must now tell

moment when she should be recognised as Duchess of Lorrain, and in forming her future establishment passionately desired to secure the dignity of first lady of honour to Jane de Vieilleville. The Queen, and even the King, entered with ardour into this debate of love; and finally, by caresses and importunities, prevailed on the young lady to renounce the man to whom she was in two days to be betrothed, not without a protestation, in which there was, perhaps, more of maiden bashfulness than sincerity, that her affections were still disengaged, and that, by the grace of God, she was enabled to bestow them according to the wishes of her royal mistress.

Delighted with this concession, Catherine immediately summoned M. de Vieilleville to a private conference, to announce her will, and impart her intentions in his daughter's favour. At first, the veteran was refractory, alleging that he had promised his daughter's hand to the Count de Saulx, and could not retract his word without forfeiting his honour. To obviate

you that the arrangements for my household have been made these six days; and you will not be sorry to find that your name is foremost on the list to be my first lady of honour; and I can assure you, the Queen, your mistress, not only approves my choice, but even dictated it, which, in some degree, vexed me, since I would have had you owe it solely to my own affection: and now you know why I conjure you to give no promise to the Count de Saulx; for, be assured, you are destined for another. Indeed if you marry in Provence, adieu to our pretty castle in the air; I shall all my life have to deplore the overweening love I have cherished for you."

this objection, the Queen adroitly reminded him, that when he placed his daughter under her protection, he virtually surrendered his paternal authority; adding, that as Jane had frankly declared she entertained no predilection for her former suitor, no rational objection could be formed to her acceptance of the man, for whose success, herself, her daughter, and her consort, were equally interested. To these representations, the King good-naturedly added, that neither favour nor preferment should be withheld from the Count de Saulx, to atone for his late disappointment. Convinced that resistance could serve only to irritate his royal patrons, the Marquis submitted to their decree, not however without stipulating that his Majesty should announce to the Count de Saulx, that it was his royal will which cancelled the engagement. To this, the King readily assented; but it was feared to expose the daughter to the possible effects of remonstrance from her honourable father; and effectually to prevent vacillation on her part, Mademoiselle de Vieilleville was that same evening affianced to M. de Duilly, in the presence of the Princesses Claude and Elizabeth, the Dauphin, and other members of the royal family. Whether she really preferred the man she accepted, is at least doubtful; and her father, perhaps, showed as much wisdom as delicacy in extorting from the rejected Count a solemn promise that he should never approach Lorrain, which was in future to be the scene of his daughter's residence.

A few days after the denouement of this little novel, M. de Vaudemont led to the altar Mademoiselle de Nemours. "At this marriage," says Vincent Carloix, "all the princes of Guise appeared in marvellous rich attire, inasmuch as they spring from the same stock as the dukes de Vaudemont, and bear the same arms; but above all were admirable the princesses and illustrious dames, whether attired in cloth of silver, or in cloth of gold, so much did their diamonds and precious stones dazzle the eye, more especially at the ball after supper, when glittering by the light of the torches in the great hall, the goddesses and nymphs of fabulous times were not to be compared to this ray of living beauties. In honour of the occasion, the Duke of Nemours led a band of twenty great lords so superbly dressed as to fix the gaze of all beholders." Carloix adds, "that this Prince, to whom, as brother of the bride, were submitted the arrangements of the fête, allotted to M. de Vieilleville a seat at his own table, with the princes of the blood,—a marked distinction, which excited envy in the Constable's relations."

Two days after these royal espousals, with equal magnificence were celebrated the nuptials of M. de Duilly and Jane de Vieilleville. It was even remarked, that on this occasion the King, to demonstrate the personal interest he felt in the connexion, ran eight courses at the ring, a compliment which he had not paid to M. de Vaudemont and Mademoiselle de

Nemours; and this trifling circumstance, so naturally to be attributed to Henry's paternal sympathy and affection, created as much displeasure in the houses of Vaudemont and Guise, as the distinction lately shown to M. de Vieilleville, by the Duke de Nemours, had already produced in the family of Montmorency. But it was not only in trivial occurrences that the Constable was destined to experience disappointment. In completing the marriage of his son with the Duchess de Castro, he had hoped to raise a rampart to the encroachments of the Princes of Lorrain, and eventually perhaps impede the elevation of their niece to the throne of France; but, in this instance, fortune baffled the prudence of an experienced statesman, and crowned with success the temerity of his young presumptuous rivals.

The balance of power in Europe had long furnished politicians with a convenient pretext for invading its tranquillity; and as, by the marriage of Philip of Spain with Mary of England, this equilibrium was manifestly endangered, Cardinal Lorrain adroitly availed himself of that circumstance to negotiate a secret treaty between Henry and the Pope (Paul the Fourth), of which the ostensible pretext was the investiture of Milan to a son of France, to secure the possession of Naples* to the house of Guise, the real object.

* It should be recollected that the house of Lorrain, by virtue of their descent from King René, formed hereditary pretensions to the

An expedition to Italy, under the auspices of the Duer for Guise, was the consequence of this arrangement; a schism in the cabinet followed. The Constable, supported by other military veterans, deprecated the war, objected to the plan of the campaign, and without inducing the King to recall the army, materially impeded its operations. We learn, however, by the following extract from Etienne Pasquier's letters, that the enterprise was generally acceptable to the nobility, whilst wiser men detected in it the mundane spirit of Paul the Fourth, the ambitious views of Lorrain, and the unfortunate facility of their misguided sovereign.

"I have a whimsical metamorphosis to announce to you," says Etienne Pasquier (in one of his letters*) : "the Emperor Charles, whose life had been devoted to the profession of arms, is suddenly transformed into a monk, whilst the Pope, who from his youth practised the austerity of an anchoret, had no sooner received his beatification, than he all at once changed into a doughty soldier: his first step was to create his nephew Caraffa, Cardinal; his next to send him hither, not with St. Peter's keys to open the gates of Paradise, but with the sword of St. Paul, to wound and destroy. Monsieur de Guise is to go as Lieutenant-general on this expedition, and the flower

crown of Naples; and to obtain possession of that kingdom was at one period seriously meditated by the Duke of Guise.

* Letter to Fonsomme.

of our nobility are to follow his standard. All are eager for the enterprise, with the exception of Monsieur le Connetable, who prophesies, that we shall go forth in the style of Cavaliers, on horseback, to return on foot, like miserable mendicants. They laugh at his predictions, which, after all, will perhaps be verified. What have we ever gained by the wars of Italy, but a grave for our armies? Nor, between us, is much good to be expected for Europe, when the head of the sacred hierarchy, who should be the father of peace, becomes the first to stir up strife among Christian princes. Whenever the church usurps the sword, off goes the bridle from the rebellious necks of schismatics and heretics."

In another letter, he thus resumes the subject: "Did I not augur rightly? Never was prophecy more completely fulfilled than mine. No sooner had Monsieur de Guise passed the Alps, than just when he looked for the smile of fortune, he perceived that the Pope's zeal waxed cold, mutual distrusts produced delays, delays created doubts, you may guess the rest; for nothing so completely disconcerts a Frenchman as procrastination; if you snatch from him the wreath of victory when he fancies it is ready to come within his grasp, you give the death-wound to his energy and resolution." If, in this instance, Pasquier exulted in the truth of his predictions, he little suspected that the charge of temerity was soon to be transferred to the veteran Montmorency, who, by an unfortu-

nate attack on Douay, in Flanders, provoked a reprisal of hostilities from Spain, and necessarily drew on his country a declaration of war from Mary of England.*

To the first failure of Montmorency succeeded another, discreditable to himself, and in its consequences calamitous to France—to her nobility—to all but the princes of Guise, whom it lifted to the pinnacle of greatness.

At the memorable battle of St. Quentin, this veteran, with Admiral Coligny, and the flower of the French army, were made prisoners, whilst the Duke of Guise, who, in consequence of this calamity, was recalled to France, not only escaped the mortification which might otherwise have awaited him in Italy, but saw himself invested with the supreme command, and hailed as the protector of his sovereign and his country.

Although Montmorency kept his place in Henry's affections, he was now compelled to cede to his rivals the guidance of his counsels, nor could he be unconscious that, by having induced

* A harsh reception was given to the English herald, Norris, not because he came to denounce war against the King of France, but because he had assumed the disguise of a courier, and, by stealth, sought the court at Rheims, before he formally announced the object of his mission. For this offence, he was at first menaced with imprisonment, but, on being admitted to the King's presence, Henry exclaimed, "Herald, I pardon you as coming from a lady, but instantly depart." The herald obeyed, but was overtaken by a messenger from the King, who presented him with a gold chain, valued at two hundred crowns.

his master to exclude from any share in the administration the princes of Bourbon, he had himself contributed to give undue preponderance to the chiefs of Lorrain. At this moment everything conspired to the elevation of those ambitious brothers, of whom one was cherished as the guardian of the realm, and the other honoured as the champion of its religion from heretical innovations. The Duke of Guise had long been the idol of Paris, and on the discovery of an assembly of the Calvinists in the Rue St. Jaques,* the orthodox party rallied round Cardinal Lorrain. It was impossible but that the influence of those powerful leaders should have excited a general sympathy in favour of the Princess, who had the honour of their alliance; to this prepossession were added the cogent arguments of state policy, suggesting the expediency of securing the cordial co-operation of the Scots, in prosecuting the war with England, which could only be effected by an immediate solemnization of the marriage. No sooner was the momentous point decided in the cabinet, than the Dauphin Francis was, for the first time, publicly associated with his father as the partaker of his counsels.†

* Several ladies of quality were dragged from this conventicle to the Conciergerie, and some women of humbler rank, in consequence of this flagrant proof of heresy, were consigned to the flames.

† The occasion of this introduction was the assembling of a convention, to which Henry was pleased to give the name of States-general, but which, instead of being preceded by provincial assem-

This Prince was not more unfitted for the pageantry of rank, by an unprepossessing exterior, than by native timidity, and the repelling shyness of his manners. With dispositions mild

blies, was composed merely of the archbishops and bishops to represent the clergy, the seneschals and baillies for the nobles, the mayors and *eschevins* for the people, or tiers etat; in addition to these, and to concentrate in the assembly a larger fund of intellect, Henry convened the primary presidents of all the provincial parliaments, who were now, for the first time, detached from the tiers etat, and to whom, having conjoined with them his own counsellors, including the chancellor and other judicial officers, he assigned the name and dignity of a fourth estate.

The assembly having met in the great hall of the palace, and each estate chosen its orator, the King and Dauphin, accompanied by the princes of the blood, entered and took their respective seats: when the former in few words announced, that the business of the convention was, to create a fund for the exigencies of the state, and to correct the abuses which had been admitted to the administration. Then the Cardinal of Lorrain, who not only possessed the talent of eloquence, but almost affected the profession of a rhetorician, descanted during an hour in the King's praise, and finally offered on the part of the clergy to support him with *life and fortune*. The Duke of Nevers, the organ of the nobility, and whose disinterested patriotism and integrity merited public confidence, contented himself with offering, in the name of his order, to devote his possessions, to shed his blood, to sacrifice his life, to the interest of his country. Saint Andrè, the president of the parliament of Paris, who had been chosen orator of the parliamentary order, after having thanked the King for the honour conferred with this new function, applauded his resolution to reform errors and abuses; and finally, in the name of the *order of justice*, pledged *life* and *service*. The last who spoke was

and affectionate, he was little alive to the pleasures of society; he dreaded its ridicule, and shrunk from the responsibility attached to his exalted station; but his frigidity vanished in the presence of his intended bride, who alone had the power to call forth his dormant energies and fix his listless attention.*

Charmed with her beauty, her graces, her affability, he already evinced for the Queen of Scots a deference and admi-

Andrew Guillard, Seigneur de Mortier, the representative of the people, who, after having adverted to the miserable state of the agriculturists and peasantry, concluded by declaring, that France, however extenuated by the contributions of preceding years, would even make a libation of its blood to defend her King, and contribute to the accomplishment of his designs, and in her name, he offered *lives* and *goods.*(*a*) It is worthy of remark, that, at a second meeting, Cardinal Lorrain, in the name of his order, presented as a free gift *a million of golden crowns*, which was a third part of the sum required by the state; the magnificence of this donation at once demonstrates the enormous power of the clergy, and reveals the secret motives that impelled kings and statesmen to support their authority. The deputies of the tiers etat being required by Cardinal Lorrain to furnish a list of ten thousand persons capable of advancing each a thousand crowns, declined the invidious task of imposing burthens on their fellow-citizens; and it was finally transferred to the minister. In contemplating this pleasing trait of old French probity and simplicity, it is impossible not to be struck with the enormous inconveniences resulting from the want of a representative system.

* Garnier.—Père Daniel.—Varillas.—Du Thou.

(*a*) Garnier, *Histoire de France.*

ration, from which her uncles drew an auspicious presage of future dominion. Of Mary's sentiments for Francis it is somewhat difficult to judge; from infancy accustomed to regard the Dauphin as her future husband, she could neither be shocked at the homeliness of his features, nor disappointed by his deficiencies in those athletic exercises which imparted a martial air to other youths of the same age. Although the inferiority of his understanding was strikingly contrasted with her own brilliant talents, he was not without capacities for improvement; if he had not, like her, imbibed the love of learning, he had at least acquired no relish for dissipation, was exquisitely susceptible of domestic affection, and devoted to her with a passionate enthusiasm, which must have flattered the ambition, even if it awakened not the tenderness of his future consort; but whatever repugnance the young queen might have entertained for the connexion, she had been too long trained in habits of submission to her uncles, not to yield implicitly to their authority. An instance of this had just occurred, which proves that, however she might glory in her descent from a hundred kings, she was insensible to the honour and dignity of her nation, and, like her mother, ready to sacrifice to the house of Guise its prosperity and independence. A deputation of the nobility and clergy of Scotland having arrived at Paris, in order to witness the marriage of their sovereign, the King and the Cardinal of Lorrain de-

manded of them the crown-matrimonial, by which Francis during life was to be recognised as King of Scotland. The deputies, of whom some were attached to the Reformation, alleged that they were not authorized to comply with this requisition, of which they probably suspected the latent motive.

To soften the King's disappointment, Mary was instructed to make her will, by which, in the event of her dying without issue, she bequeathed to the Dauphin and the King of France the absolute reversion of her kingdom, thus degraded to a private possession :* such were the political principles instilled into her mind, and such the artifices by which she was alienated from her native country.

Having consummated this act of political treachery, the Cardinal and the King appear to have thought only of winning the affections of the Parisians; and Henry graciously invited himself to sup at the Hotel de Ville, with the mayor and burgesses of the city.† At this entertainment Mary Stuart

* Keith.—Père Daniel.

† The history of the banquet affords an amusing picture of the manners of the people. Flattered with this mark of royal condescension, the mayor and burgesses invited only twenty-five of their wives and daughters to join the party; and to crown the pleasure of the evening, engaged the poet Etienne Jodelle to represent before them, with a suitable accompaniment of scenic decorations, his opera of Orpheus. The sons of the principal citizens officiated as servitors, the floors were strewed with rushes, the wainscot festooned with ivy and garlands, the walls hung with tapestry, on which were embossed

was not present, probably because it was deemed indispensable to the laws of decency that she should have been formally betrothed to the Dauphin. The preparations for the espousals continued with unremitted diligence; and the Duke of Guise, who, by the capture of Calais, had gratified the pride of the nobles, and, by his generous surrender of its spoils, had won the hearts of the people, arrived in Paris, purposely to dis-

the ciphers of the King, the Queen, the Dauphin, Madame Marguerite, Cardinal Lorrain, the Duke of Guise, and, whether as favourite of the King or protectress of the church, the Duchess Valentinois; with ingenious devices in prose and verse, alluding to the late capture of Calais. "Unfortunately," says the chronicler, "torrents of rain compelled the royal party to take shelter in a vile machine called a coach, whose grotesque appearance spoiled the grace of the procession. No sooner had the King alighted, than the horses, affrighted by a discharge of artillery announcing the event, broke from their traces, leaving the equipage completely demolished. When the royal party entered the hall, they found it already nearly filled with persons admitted by private favour; and in the sequel, the twenty-five Bourgeoises were pushed to the upper seats, to the great displeasure of certain dames of quality. Confusion and discontent prevailed during the repast. Many left the table with hunger unsated, or consumed with thirst, whilst viands and wine passed before the eye without reaching the lips." Even the operative attraction failed: the principal performer having a cold, coughed so loud that he was soon silenced for the dancers, who, finding themselves incommoded by the crowd, retreated in displeasure; the party broke up precipitately, the hall was deserted, the municipality quarrelled with Jodelle, and the name of Orpheus became associated with discord rather than harmony.—Felibien's *Histoire de Paris.*

charge the functions of great master of the King's household, in place of the unfortunate Constable.

The native gallantry of Henry's temper seconded the ostentatious vanity of the Guises to exalt the dignity of his daughter-in-law; and even Catherine, suppressing her jealousy of the bride, and her repugnance to the alliance, exerted all her taste and fancy to invest the scene not merely with pomp but elegance and beauty. On an occasion so important as the marriage of the heir apparent, it became the part of every nobleman or knight to render personal attendance; and so little were the princes of the blood exempted from the duty, that both the King and Queen of Navarre repaired to Paris avowedly to be present at the ceremony. A keen competition in finery was exhibited by princes, princesses, lords and ladies; and, according to a contemporary chronicler,* who witnessed the scene he describes, "for several preceding days all the shops, warehouses, jewellers, embroiderers, and taylors of Paris were in unceasing requisition. Within the palace was heard the clamour of workmen constructing theatres for the approaching carousal; nor was there belle or wit, artisan or artist, but by hint, experiment, or invention, had lent some aid to the spectacle."

On the 19th of April, 1558, the ceremony of betrothment

* Discours du grand et magnifique Triomphe, fait au Mariage du plus grand et magnifique Prince François.

was performed with decorous privacy in the great hall of the Louvre. The young couple, conducted by the Kings of France and Navarre, plighted their faith in the presence of the Cardinal of Lorrain; and the ceremony concluded with a ball, which at that time formed almost an essential part of every royal solemnity. In pursuing this recreation, the decorums of birth and station were however scrupulously observed, since the members of the royal family invariably danced together. The King took out his daughter-in-law, the King of Navarre led Catherine, the Dauphin his aunt Madame Marguerite, and the young Duke of Lorrain his affianced bride Claude,* already mentioned as an amiable child scarcely thirteen years of age. During these harmless festivities, the workmen exerted all their zeal and diligence in constructing a superb amphitheatre in the area before the church of Notre Dame, which communicated by a covered gallery with the episcopal palace of Eustathius du Bellay, the Bishop of Paris, and, continued by the great door, extended from thence, in the form of an arch, to the choir of the church, opening a complete vista to the spectators. This gallery was hung with purple velvet, "embossed and ornamented with such skill and care, that it is believed every workman in Paris must have assisted in the process."

* Claude, the second daughter of Henry the Second, who had for her sponsors the thirteen Cantons of Switzerland. She died at an early age, leaving an amiable and unblemished character.

At the betrothment, a select party only had been present; but on Sunday the 24th of April, which was fixed for the solemnization of the nuptials, all Paris had collected: the dawn of day commenced the jubilee, or, as it was called, in honour of the marriage, the Triumph. At the entrance of Notre Dame was erected a royal canopy, covered with fleurs de lys as symbolic of the reverence offered to God, and the sacrament of marriage. Around this standard of royalty stood the Pope's legate, the Archbishops, and principal prelates, all invested with pontifical robes. From ten to eleven collected the various military bands, among whom were the Swiss, carrying their halberts, preceded by tabors and fifes, which, during a quarter of an hour, poured forth their simple melody. After these, came the Duke of Guise, as grand-master of the King's household, who having with his accustomed dignity saluted the Bishop of Paris, Cardinal Eustathius du Bellay, and the princes of the blood, turned towards the assembled crowd, and perceiving that they were impeded in their view, waved his hand, and signified to the grandees that they should retire, for the accommodation of the lower orders, whilst he himself marshalled the procession, which was heralded by music. The performers wore an uniform of yellow and red; but endless was the variety of their harmonious strains, in which the trumpet and the lute, the bass-viol and flageolet, the violin and hautboy, all intermingled in harmonious concert: immediately

after followed the two hundred gentlemen attached to the King's person; next, the princes of the blood, with their immediate attendants; bishops and abbots, before whom were borne their crosiers and mitres, the ensigns of their dignity; a cluster of high-capped cardinals, among whom were conspicuous John of Bourbon, Charles of Lorrain, and John of Guise; lastly, came the Pope's legate, before whom was borne a cross of massive gold; after these marched the Dauphin Francis, conducted by the King of Navarre. Although his feeble and ill-proportioned figure was painfully contrasted with the tall martial form of Anthony of Bourbon, the impression was somewhat relieved by the presence of his two younger brothers, the Dukes of Orleans and Angouleme. Far different was the sensation created by the appearance of his fair bride, affectionately supported by her father-in-law the King of France, and who was also attended by her youthful kinsman, the Duke of Lorrain: though she had not completed her sixteenth year, her stature rose considerably above the female standard; but so perfect was the symmetry of her form, and so graceful were her movements, that even this lofty height but gave to her person an air of mingled dignity and elegance, that added to her attractions. On this day, Brantome describes her, as "more beauteous and charming than a celestial goddess; for as every eye dwelt with rapture on her face, every voice echoed her praise; whilst, universally, in the court and city it

was re-echoed, Happy, thrice happy, the prince, who should call her his, even though she should have had neither crown nor sceptre to bestow!" Unlike Brantome, the frigid chronicler, instead of expatiating on Mary's charms, descants with much energy on her superb attire: "The robe, white as the lily with which it was embroidered, but so prodigally rich and gorgeous, glittering with diamonds and silver, as to be *too dazzling* for words to describe." Her sweeping train was borne by two young girls, whom grace and beauty fitted for the office; her neck was encircled with a diamond carcanet, from which was suspended a ring of inestimable value; on her head she wore a golden coronet, encircled with precious stones, in which the diamond, the ruby, and the emerald contended for magnificence, and in the centre of the coronet shone a carbuncle valued at five hundred crowns. Although it was impossible but that such habiliments should have attracted the vulgar eye, we may be permitted to suspect, that they rather disguised than embellished a youthful beauty; nor is it an equivocal proof of Mary's superior grace, that under all this pomp and state, she preserved her accustomed elegance and unembarrassed movements. Behind the young Queen (not without secret envy) walked Catherine de Medicis, with the Prince de Condé; after whom followed, in due gradation, Madame Marguerite, the Queen of Navarre, and an almost interminable train of ladies.

When the procession had reached the great door of the church, the King drew from his finger a ring which he gave to the Archbishop of Rouen, who, having placed it on the young Queen's finger, pronounced the nuptial benediction; mutual congratulations followed, and Mary gracefully saluted her husband by the title of King of Scots. The Scottish deputies, whom the chronicler does not once deign to mention, followed her example; after which, the Archbishop of Paris delivered a suitable discourse, which, probably, extorted not much attention. In the mean time, the Duke of Guise had succeeded in his efforts to induce the nobles to open a vista to the people, who stood clustering in the streets, at the windows, on turrets, and scaffoldings, to catch a glimpse of the imposing spectacle; but not even his vigilance and activity were adequate to the task of preserving order and decorum among the motley crowd; and when, according to custom, the heralds, having proclaimed largess, in the name of the King and Queen of Scots, began to shower money on the people: "Then," says the chronicler, "you might have witnessed *the tumult and confusion* of the multitude; some, in their avidity, precipitating themselves on their companions, others fainting, whilst many were stript of hats, cloaks, or even skirts; so terrible was the conflict, that at length even the populace, in dismay unutterable, implored the heralds to desist from throwing among them the golden bait of discord."

Whilst curiosity was thus diverted from the principal objects of the spectacle, the bridal procession advanced to the choir beneath the royal canopy, where mass was celebrated, after the young couple had made their appropriate offering, largess was again proclaimed and distributed, but without again occasioning clamour. These solemnities being ended, the procession prepared to return in the order in which it came, when King Henry, aware how many of the people must have missed seeing the ceremony, insisted that the whole company should march round the platform, and by this seasonable courtesy probably reconciled the citizens to the imposition of additional burthens. Having returned to the episcopal palace, the royal party partook of a magnificent collation (produced under the superintendence of the Duke of Guise); whilst Henry, with becoming gallantry, ordered his knights to suspend the crown-royal over the head of the Queen-Dauphin. To the dinner, as usual, succeeded the ball, which was rendered tantalizing by the cumbrous magnificence of the royal costume; but fortunately no dance was attempted that required more elasticity than the stately minuet, or Passamento del Espagne: at five o'clock, the royal family returned to the palace of the Tournelles, by the rue St. Christophe, amidst the greetings of myriads of spectators. The two Queens of France sat in the same litter, a cardinal walking on either side; the King, and his son, the Dauphin, followed on

horseback, as did the princesses and ladies, who, not without difficulty, made their way through the crowded streets.

Having attended his company to the palace, the chronicler, breaking into a strain of rapture that reminds us of Hall or Hollinshed, describes the palace which was prepared for their reception, as a place "light and beautiful as Elysium. The King and royal family having taken places round the marble table, supped in solemn state, and during the repast were regaled with music. The King's band of a hundred gentlemen paraded the hall. The members of the parliament attended in their magisterial robes, the princes of the blood were the servitors, the Duke of Guise still presiding over all the arrangements. Supper being at length over, the ceremonial closed, and the ladies, exhilarated by the perspective of what was about to be presented, gave signs of peculiar animation and delight; so that," says the chronicler, "you might see them almost dance and jump for joy." Nor were these anticipations disappointed; a series of masques and mummeries having been prepared for the occasion, of which the magnificence baffled description. Among the most curious objects of the pageant are noticed twelve artificial horses, covered with cloth of gold, of which the mechanism was so admirable, as to produce an exact imitation of living motion. The attraction of these pretty toys was enhanced by the good mien of the children (among whom were the sons of

the Dukes d'Aumale and Guise), who bestrode their backs, to the infinite delight of the fond mothers, by whom the achievement was witnessed. After these, came a company of pilgrims, supposed to be destined for a tournament, each of whom recited an appropriate poem, from the elegant pen of Joachim du Bellay. These recitations having lasted long enough to give time for criticism and praise, another masque was produced, which indicated the advances of scenical machinery. Six elegantly diminutive galleys entered the hall, each "covered, like Cleopatra's barge, with cloth of gold and crimson velvet; so skilfully contrived as to appear to glide through the waves, sometimes rolling, sometimes tacking, then veering, as if agitated by a sudden swell of the tide, till the delicate silken sails were cracked asunder." On each deck were two seats, of which one only was occupied by a cavalier; and as the little navy advanced along the theatre, each of these pretended corsairs, springing to land, seized on some fair lady, and bore her, as by force, to the vacant chair already prepared for her reception. The first of these piratical adventurers was the young Duke of Lorrain, who carried off his affianced consort, Claude of France. The second was the King of Navarre, who once again, as in youthful days, wooed with ardour his Queen Jane. The third was the Duke of Nemours, who, not having a wife, very discreetly captured an elderly kinswoman, the Princess Margaret. With similar regard to

decorum, the gay Prince of Condé seized on Madame de Guise. The Dauphin Francis showed more alacrity than grace in conducting his bride; and Henry himself dutifully elected Catherine instead of Diana to be his companion. Every cavalier being thus provided with a consort, each galley circumnavigated the hall, to the infinite delight of the spectators. Various mummeries followed, which, however puerile, certainly offered nothing offensive to propriety. But the Triumph, as it was called, was repeated during many succeeding days; and the chronicler concludes with a pious prayer, *that it may please the King of kings* to preserve all these princes in *joy, prosperity, and love, to the end that the people may be by them well and happily governed.**

All these solemnities terminated in a tournament, at which, although the grace and elegance of the Queen Dauphin were the theme of every tongue, we hear not of any knights but those of the Dauphin's band, who presumed to wear her colours or challenge pre-eminence for her sovereign beauty. Her husband, Francis, was precluded by youth and debility from entering the field, and Mary, though affable and courte-

* Taken from a tract published in 1558, entitled, "Discours du grand et magnifique Triomphe, fait au Mariage du plus haut, plus magnifique Prince François de Valois, Roi-Dauphin, fils aisné du Roi Henri Deuxième du nom, et de très-haute et vertueuse Princesse Madame Marie d'Estreuart, Royne d'Ecosse."

ous, appears, like her aunt, Anne of Este, to have maintained a strict reserve in her deportment to the other sex.

Of the complimentary poems written on her nuptials, it may be remarked that they all dilated on her talents and accomplishments; even Buchanan, in his elegant epithalamium, expatiated on her personal charms and mental endowments. When, in the borrowed language of poetry, he says that her presence would have decided the choice of Paris, he adopts the common-place hyperbole of a poet. But when he describes the symmetry of her fine form, *the open brow on which honour* seemed enthroned, the mild lustre of her eyes, the captivating smile that mantled her youthful cheeks; when he extols the sedateness of her character, the grave and diguified look that bespoke a prudence beyond her years; above all, when he dwells on that feminine softness more fascinating than any perfection of symmetry or complexion, by which she was eminently distinguished, Buchanan evidently portrays the individual with such liveliness and felicity of delineation, as could only be derived from the living impressions of the moment.

Oh, blessed by fate, in happiest æra born,*
And join'd by bonds with young affection worn,
While a pleas'd world the union proud approves,
And hopes and wishes, for the pair it loves;
That no dread grief their opening joy may shade,
Nor latest years behold its brightness fade;

* Fortunati ambo, et felice tempore nati.

And if not vainly in my bosom glows
Prophetic thought that Phœbus' self bestows,
No coming day with envious gloom shall lour
O'er the young promise of a nuptial hour;
Where equal race, and friendship's holy tie,
Seal the fond hope, the bliss that cannot die.
Then come, while omens bright your presence greet,
A nation's love, a nation's prayer to meet.
To thee, brave youth, a royal kindred lent,
True to thy tender cause, the glad consent,
That dearly made a sister Queen thy wife,
The gentle partner of thy throne, and life.
While beauty, birth, and virtue, nobly fair,
And plighted faith, and mutual love were there.
For say, if met as once on Ida's height,
The assembled gods had held their awful state;
Heard thy young vow, and to thy prayer had given,
In wedded love, the choicest boon of heaven;
What brighter form could meet thy ravish'd sight,
Or fill thy bosom with its pure delight?
On her fair brow a regal grace she wears,
While youth's own lustre on her cheek appears;
And soft the rays from those bright eyes that gleam,
Whose temper'd light and chasten'd radiance seem,
As thought mature had given the beams of truth,
Gently to mingle with the fire of youth.
Or if thou sought a long and ancient line
Of great and royal sires to link with thine;
Hers the proud boast, that her unshaken throne
A hundred kings has borne—their lineage one.
Tho' fierce their neighb'ring foes, while years untold,
In passing lustres, o'er their courts have roll'd;

Yet no usurper there his home has made,
Nor foreign land the native sceptre sway'd.
Had hope of dower within thy thoughts a place?
Take her brave people—an unconquer'd race.
I will not tell of Scotia's fertile shores,
Or mountain tracts that teem with choicest ores,
Or living streams, from sources rich, that flow,
For other regions *nature's* bounties show—
(And thirst of wealth alone their souls employ,
Whose grov'lling spirits feel no loftier joy).
But this her own, and this her proudest fame,
The strength, the virtue, of her sons to claim.
'Tis theirs in early chase to rouse the wood,
And fearless theirs to breast the foaming flood.
A land beloved to guard in many a field,
Their swords her bulwark, and their breasts her shield;
'Tis theirs to prize pure fame, ev'n life above,
Firmly their faith to keep, their God to love.
And while stern war its banner wide unfurl'd,
Terror and change o'er half the nations hurl'd;
This the proud charter that in ages gone
Saved their lov'd freedom and its ancient throne.*

At the period that Buchanan composed this poem, he was an indigent man of letters, who, after ample experience of human vicissitudes, was not unwilling to embrace the patronage of Cardinal Lorrain. That he had tasted largely of the miseries incident to a literary life, appears from several of his minor

* For the translated extract from this elegant poem, the Author is indebted to a young female friend, whose classical attainments form but the smallest part of her mental accomplishments

poems, in which his powerful mind is seen struggling with the complicated evils of pride and poverty, of ambition and dependence. In the sequel, adversity seems to have perverted the affections of his heart, and have benumbed all the soft and tender sympathies of his nature; but it left untouched his genius, and his passion for independence; and whether he wields his pen as the panegyrist, or the defamer of Mary Stuart, its energy and eloquence are alike felt, and almost equally irresistible. Buchanan was not the only poet who aspired to immortalize the youthful Queen of Scotland; but he only was capable of lending attraction to things so trite, and repeatedly exhausted, as regal dignity and female beauty. It may also be observed of Buchanan, that he writes on the subject with an enthusiasm of which, whether influenced by prejudice or policy, no Gallic bard appears to have been susceptible. Even Ronsard dwells with more complacency on Mary's illustrious birth and high connexions, than on her youthful loveliness or mental accomplishments, and Joachim du Bellay,* in his

* The following Inscription was written by Joachim du Bellay for the Queen-Dauphin:—

Toi qui a vu l'excellence de celle,
Que rend le ciel sur l'Ecosse envieux,
D'y hardiment', contentez vous mes yeux,
Vous ne verrez jamais chose plus belle.
Celle qui este de celle ile princesse,
Qu'au tems passè l'on nommoit Caledon,

inscriptions addressed to the various members of the royal family, contents himself with yielding to her the sceptre of beauty; it appears to have been an impression pretty generally excited that she aspired to the sovereignty she was destined to command; and was not only formed to grace, but impatient to ascend a throne.*

During fifteen days a succession of festivals continued to delight the people, but at length the intoxication of joy subsided. The Duke of Guise returned to the camp to gather fresh laurels, by the capture of Ham and Thionville: the Cardinal accompanied the King, Queen, and court to Villars Cotterets; and, of the innumerable multitudes so lately congregated from every part of France, there remained but a few princes of the blood long excluded from royal confidence, to whom this city, when deserted by its higher guests, presented objects of moral interest, that completely effaced the impression of all the brilliant pageantry they had lately witnessed.

A few months had elapsed since the memorable night in which, it will be recollected, the Calvinistic congregation in the

Si en sa main elle avoit un brandon,
On la prendroit pour Venus la dresse,
Par une chaine à sa langue attachè,
Hercule à soi les peuples attiroit,
Mais celle ci tire ceux qu' elle voit
Par une chaine à ses beaux yeux attachè.

* Du Thou.—Varillas.

rue St. Jaques had been so rudely disturbed in the performance of their religious duties, by the intrusion of the civil officers.* Of the individuals who, on that occasion, had been implicated in the charge of heresy, many were awaiting their fate in the prisons of the Conciergerie; others, among whom were ladies of distinguished rank, had been consigned to the female penitentiary. Undismayed by this rigour, the Calvinists not only held at Paris their first religious synod, but, with greater boldness, celebrated divine worship according to the ritual of Geneva, in a large edifice in the Pré aux Clercs,† then the fashionable walk of Paris. At this moment every friend of the Reformation was become an object of suspicion to the state, of abhorrence to the church, of obloquy and outrage to the populace. To coalesce with such was to incur the imputation of disloyalty or sedition; to defend them was to provoke contempt and disgrace; to cultivate with them the relations of friendship was to court the rigours of ecclesiastical persecution, which, by the late registration of the edict establishing the inquisition, were more than ever formidable and appalling. In the female sex, the name of Reformer affixed a stigma injurious to modesty and reputation; and it is a curious fact, that the most extravagant calumnies were credited, respecting the pretended profligacy of those

* Alluded to by Pasquier, in his Letters.

† Faubourg St. Germains.

sectaries whose austere manners, in the next age, were to be made the theme of derision and reproach. Under such circumstances it might appear strange that any individuals having either character or property to preserve, should venture to approach the precincts of Le Pré aux Clercs. But, independent of that well known principle in the human mind, in which, to a certain point, the consciousness of danger exercises a species of romantic attraction, the Calvinistic congregation invited curiosity and sympathy by the vocal melodies that formed part of their worship, a psalmody that singularly contrasted with their primitive austerity, into which had been introduced popular and even amatory airs, and equally calculated to gratify the ear and delight the imagination.* To this powerful charm was added the novelty of five thousand voices mingling in the choral swell, and, by a sort of electric impulse, communicating to every breast a simultaneous impression of energy and enthusiasm. Abstracted from their psalmody, the Calvinists in their devotional exercises admitted nothing that could impress the senses; all was spiritual and intellectual. Yet to those who were not shocked by the severity that banished the decorations and abjured the ceremonies of the ancient worship, and who could be reconciled to the absence of the splendid altar and its voluptuous incense, there was, in the bare benches and naked walls of their sanctuary, some-

* One of these Psalms was adapted to the air of Petite Camusett.

thing that, by excluding whatever could arrest or entrammel the imagination, seemed congenial to the aspirations of a really devout and elevated mind, and that inspired a sacred consciousness of the Divine presence. In reality, the same circumstances which originally created repugnance to this sect, when the first prejudice was overcome, appear to have riveted the affections of its disciples. To the eye of faith, the rude simplicity of the shrine accorded with the conception of an invisible eternal Deity, of whom the universe alone was worthy to be the temple. The terrors which invested this communion formed for all who approached its precincts an alliance of hopes and fears, a solemn bond of peril and probation not less sacred than the ties of blood, and imperative as the voice of nature.

Among those who visited the Pré aux Clercs were the King and Queen of Navarre, Madame de la Roye, her daughter the Princess of Condé, and several other persons of distinction. The sight of five thousand Calvinists, unarmed and unprotected, and who with magnanimous meekness braved persecution, was calculated to awaken in generous minds an emotion by which a simple prepossession was quickly exalted into enthusiastic attachment. The Queen of Navarre was already devoted to their cause, and the high-spirited sister of the Colignys, Magdalen de Mailly, Madame de la Roye, niece of the Constable Montmorency, had long since imbibed congenial sentiments, which she carefully instilled into the minds of her

children. Deprived of her husband in the flower of her days, possessing wealth, beauty, talent, and whatever could command the admiration of the other sex, this lady rigidly adhered to her resolution never to contract a second marriage, and devoted the best years of life to the care of educating her two daughters, and to the due performance of her domestic duties. Residing in Picardy, she established and preserved in her immense chateau industry, order, and decorum; and, like Magdalen of Savoy, dedicated a large part of her revenue to objects of charity. But it was her principal aim to provide for the moral and religious instruction of her domestics and vassals; and so nobly were her labours recompensed, that the name of Madame de la Roye* sufficed to convey an admonition to virtue, and her example alone was believed to have drawn more proselytes to Calvin than the most celebrated preacher had attracted by argument and eloquence. At what period Madame de la Roye embraced the Reformation is uncertain; her internal convictions came slowly, but with energy proportioned to the strength and steadiness of her character. Assimilating rather with her elder brother, the Admiral, than with the impetuous Andelot, she uniformly exercised a self-command which in every situation secured to her the privilege of concealing her sentiments.

* See the character of this lady, in *Varillais Histoire des Revolutions qui ont arrivé dans la Religion*, book xxi. Also, *Laboureur's Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau*, neither of whom can be suspected of partiality to a Calvinist.

But with her that prudence, which is so often the concomitant of artifice and dissimulation, was united to integrity, generosity, and magnanimity. Having once avowed her religious opinions, she adhered to them with firmness and sincerity, and not only fostered in her daughters the same principles, but determined that the partners of their future days should be imbued with the spirit of Protestantism, and devoted to liberal and noble sentiments. In giving Frances de la Roye to the Count de Rochefoucault, she secured to herself a friend, and to her daughter an honourable and noble-minded protector. But in uniting the elder sister, Eleanor, to Louis, Prince of Condé, she hoped to raise a champion for the oppressed Calvinists, worthy to vindicate their rights, and able to redress their injuries. In this young prince, apparently the votary of pleasure, the penetrating eye of Madame de la Roye detected the extent of the statesman and the future hero; and whilst she seized every occasion to impress his mind with sentiments of commiseration for the suffering non-conformists, she forgot not to excite in his breast a generous ambition to signalize his courage and exert his prudence against their oppressors. In the former part of her task she was powerfully seconded by his wife, the celebrated Princess of Condé,* whom the Calvinists of her age have fondly designated as the *pearl of*

* Born at Chatillon sur Loire, 1533; married to Louis of Bourbon in 1551; died at the Chateau de Condé en Brie, 1564.—Laboureur.

princesses, and whose captivating character supplies one of those rare examples in which history seems to have caught the inspirations of poetry, and experience to have realized the vision of romance. It is not often that the prosperous sympathize deeply with the unfortunate. To have tasted of the same bitter cup is in general necessary to a strict communion of interest or feeling, and never, but in the most gentle and generous bosoms, is an active sentiment of humanity awakened without participation in similar calamities. To the common observer, Eleanor de la Roye should seem to have been exempted from the ordinary pains and privations attached to human destiny. From childhood she had lived in the bosom of her family, and in the reciprocation of those dear domestic charities which redouble the faculties of existence. At this moment she was in the bloom of youth, possessing rank, beauty, talent, all that delights or intoxicates the soul of woman, she had hitherto been eminently happy in the relations of female life, and as a daughter, a wife, and a mother, might challenge pre-eminence of felicity; yet with these multiplied sources of enjoyment, the Princess of Condé was touched with the miseries of an oppressed sect, and earnestly interceded with her beloved consort to stand forth as its advocate and protector. Louis beheld, with indignation, the system of intolerance established by the princes of Lorrain; but it was a political, rather than a religious zeal that he

imbibed for the Calvinists. Enslaved by the prejudices of rank and education, he neither participated in the patriotism of the Colignys, nor the philanthropy of his consort, and appears to have been more anxious to reclaim the full privileges of a prince of the blood, of which he conceived himself to have been unjustly deprived, than to secure to France the possession of civil and religious liberty.

In the society of his wife, and her heroic mother, a purer spirit than ambition seemed at times to direct and animate his conduct, and the Princess might, perhaps, indulge the belief that he was, eventually, to gratify the pride and enthusiasm of her affection, by becoming not merely the most fortunate, but the most generous of heroes. It is amusing to observe in what manner the same principle operates in individuals of different temper and character. In the Queen of Navarre, Calvinism had an ardent and impetuous defender; the attachment of Madame de la Roye was founded on that strongest passion of magnanimous souls, the sense of rectitude and justice; whilst love and pity conspired to form a heroine in the Princess of Condé. There were two other ladies equally devoted to the cause of religious liberty, the wives of the two younger Chatillons; the former, who was the heiress of the house of Laval, had brought to Andelot a princely fortune, which they mutually employed in acts of usefulness and beneficence; and, as they sympathized in attachment to the refor-

mation, they cordially co-operated in planting churches, in protecting the ministers, and disseminating the principles of Calvinism. Madame Coligny was also of the house of Laval, and no less esteemed and beloved by her heroic lord; but, though secretly devoted to the interests of religious liberty, he still continued to attend mass, and carefully abstained from an open declaration of his principles, believing that he should better serve the cause to which he was attached, by disguising than avowing his convictions. Hitherto the demeanour of the Calvinists had been pacific and conciliatory; their tenets were, in general, confined to minds of superior cultivation and enlargement, a circumstance that explains their superiority over the reformers of other countries; but a crisis was now approaching in which other qualities than passive submission would probably be called forth. The edict for establishing the supremacy of ecclesiastical tribunals had been registered, however reluctantly, by the parliament,* and it was a melancholy presage of the late royal marriage, that the holy office had been introduced under its auspices, and that with the hymeneal torch was lighted the flame of discord.

During these religious commotions in Paris, the court was internally as little tranquil. The King continued to sigh for

* By the strenuous efforts of Harlai, Seguier, and Du Thou, a clause was inserted, authorizing the laity to appeal from ecclesiastical courts to the parliament.

the presence of his ancient friend, and often, in unguarded moments, betrayed his readiness to sacrifice all political calculations to be restored to his society. Yet, with singular inconsistency, whilst he reposed in Montmorency unlimited confidence, he ventured not openly to protect him from the machinations of his enemies. The character of this Prince affords a strong illustration of the remark, how little it is within the scope of extrinsic circumstances to remove the original defects of nature. To the feeble mind of Henry, the possession of a regal sceptre had failed to impart habits of decision or energy, and the sovereign to whom Europe attributed unlimited authority, submitted to artifices and disguises that would have disgraced the meanest slave. From motives and feelings far different, Catherine de Medicis, on this occasion, sympathized in his discontent, not that she loved the Constable, but that she detested his opponents, the Princes of Lorrain; and as she had formerly resented their obsequious devotion to Diana de Poictiers, she now contemplated with envy and suspicion the formidable rival to her power whom they had fostered in Mary Stuart; nor was the bride of Francis long permitted to remain in ignorance of the sentiments she had inspired in her step-mother, who, however skilful in dissimulation, was equally adroit in discovering or inventing occasions to inflict mortification on the objects of her displeasure. The position of the Queen-Dauphin was such as left no means of eluding this

petty vengeance, and she was soon taught, by experience, that the splendid marriage she had contracted, was rather calculated to abridge her liberty than to extend her sphere of enjoyment. In Francis she had an ardent admirer, but no suitable companion, and it was only in their devotional habits and religious opinions that they could really sympathize. Young as she was, she had learnt to know that to conform to his tastes and wishes was equally her interest and her duty; and since she could not hope to impart to her juvenile consort her own avidity for knowledge, or her capacity for intellectual enjoyment, she made a judicious effort to partake in his favourite amusements of riding and hunting, which at this period she little relished, and for which the delicacy of her constitution seemed unfitted; but, perhaps, the most onerous of her new duties was the deference exacted by Catherine de Medicis, in whom she recognised a jealous, if not a treacherous, spy on her looks, words, and movements; thus the first fruits of her marriage were constraint and subjection, and, as the reigning monarch was still in the summer of his days, she saw before her a long and almost interminable probation.

A state such as this was little suited to the high-spirited daughter of James the Fifth. For her uncle, the Cardinal, who, by the absence of Montmorency, engrossed the supreme authority, it might have been supposed that fortune had reserved the higher gratifications of ambition, unalloyed with

envy, and undisturbed by regret. But it was not enough for this intriguing prelate that he saw his niece united to the Dauphin; and his nephew, the Duke of Lorrain, contracted to the sister of the future monarch of France. So long as either friend or partisan should remain to the Constable, he believed his own power to rest on a precarious foundation; and as he despaired of displacing the favourite in the affections of his sovereign, he artfully attacked his dignity in the person of his nephew, the brave Andelot, by preferring against him a charge but too well authenticated to be disproved, "that he neglected to attend mass, that he spoke irreverently of the Pope, and disseminated among his troops the poison of heresy," which at court was synonymous with sedition. Few things could have been less acceptable to Henry than an accusation of such a nature against an officer he sincerely loved; and, with his accustomed duplicity, he praised the Cardinal's zeal, whilst he apprized Andelot of his malice, and intimated that he should expect him to repel the insinuation. Nor was his first expectation deceived; Andelot repaired to Monceaux,* where he was welcomed by Henry with affectionate cordiality. At dinner, the King took occasion to introduce the subject of religion, protesting that he gave no credit to the statement he had received, and that he simply required him to disclaim the imputation. Andelot replied, with perfect com-

* A house belonging to Catherine de Medicis.

posure, "My life belongs to my King:" the monarch smiled with complacency; the officer added, "my conscience belongs to God; and since your Majesty challenges my real sentiments, I dare not disavow, that I consider the elevation of the Host as an impious idolatry."* For a moment, astonishment held the sovereign mute; to this, succeeded a paroxysm of real or well-affected rage, and after having hurled at the culprit a plate, which struck the Dauphin Francis, he ordered Andelot to be arrested, and committed to the custody of the Bishop of Meaux; but no sooner had the ebullition of passion subsided, than, anxious to protect the nephew of Montmorency, he caused him to be transferred from ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the castle of Melun, where, through the medium of his friends, he incessantly importuned him to retract his error, or, by some trifling concession, to authorize his restoration to liberty. To the high-spirited Andelot, who held honour dearer than life, these solicitations were long addressed in vain; but the inflexible resolution that withstood the prayers of his affectionate uncle, and the tears of a beloved wife, yielded to the arguments of Admiral Coligny, who silenced his scruples, by insisting on the duty of preserving that life which might hereafter be consecrated to the interests of his religion, and the salvation of his country. Convinced, though not reconciled, by this reason

* Père Daniel.—Garnier, *Histoire de France.*—Laboureur.

ing, Andelot, for once, endured the ceremony of the mass; but never ceased to consider as unworthy of himself, the submission to which he owed his deliverance.* During this transaction, Henry, more eager to console Montmorency for his nephew's incarceration, than to co-operate with Cardinal Lorrain in accomplishing his conversion, addressed to him several letters, from which it appears, that the monarch submitted to perform the office of a spy on his own courtiers, and that his esteem and confidence were almost exclusively confined to the Constable and the Seneschal.*

* The liberation of Andelot was highly displeasing to the Pope (Paul the Fourth), who, on the first intimation of his arrest, had shed tears of joy; but wondered why Cardinal Lorrain, who was vested with inquisitorial power, did not strangle him on the spot. The Cardinal endeavoured to appease the pontiff, by lamenting that justice proceeded by *slow and cautious steps in France.*—Père Daniel. —Garnier, *Histoire de France*, tome xiii.

† "To Anne Montmorency.

"I conjure you, my best friend, to believe that I have never known happiness since I saw you, nor ever shall again, till God permit me to see you once more in health and safety. It is my daily prayer that this may be granted according to my desires, as doubtless it shall be, when it pleases him: in the mean time, be assured, that death alone shall divide me from you. I could indeed die content, if I might but obtain a good peace, and the sight of that man whom I most love and esteem in the world; therefore doubt not but that your ransom shall be obtained at any price, for I will spare no expense to behold you again. You may intrust the bearer with your despatches, since he has performed good offices on your account,

During the negotiations for peace, the Constable having obtained permission to leave his prison on parole, the King met him at the palace of Beauvais, with transports of joy, and that he might not lose one moment of the society he held so precious, quitted him neither by day nor night, dined and supped with him alone, and even insisted on sharing his bed; at parting, Henry could not speak for tears, an emotion to which he afterwards alluded in the following words:—"My friend, this letter shall perform the duty I had no power to

and has approved himself more devoted to your interests than certain persons suspected. I beseech you to embrace the first opportunity to send an answer, and be sure to seem perfectly satisfied with those who are now at my right hand. I have good reasons for making this request. Your wife is well, so are all your children; the three eldest are all with me; do not doubt of my supplying the father's place in your absence. Our daughter is not pregnant, as I had flattered myself. I should be unjust to Madame de Valentinois if I did not say how sincerely she is your friend; your children will tell you so some day, if it be the will of God. For other folks I shall not venture to vouch, lest I should convict myself of falsehood. Do not vex for anything; take care of your health; your friend's life is bound up in yours. The bearer will impart to you something of Andelot; let it not trouble you, for all goes well. I shall write no more at present, having so completely instructed the bearer, that he will be able to reply to every question. May God hear our mutual prayers. Your good friend,

"HENRY."

From the MS. of Bethune, published in the Philologue of M. Gail.

fulfil when we parted; my heart was then too full for utterance; but I entreat you to believe that you are the person I most love in this world."

It soon appeared that this celebrated conference referred not merely to political subjects, and that the two friends were at least equally engrossed by the establishment of Henry Damville, the second son of Montmoreney, one of the rising heroes of the age, whose gallant deportment, and high military reputation, had made a deep impression on Antoinetta Mark, the heiress of the Duke de Bouillon, and granddaughter of Diana de Poictiers. Although the cavalier appears to have entertained for this young lady no warmer sentiment than esteem, he readily acquiesced in his father's wishes, and, by the King's mediation, the marriage contract was soon concluded.

The treaty of peace was the next subject of interest; but at the moment when tranquillity was about to be restored to Europe, Cardinal Lorrain rekindled discord, by advancing the pretensions of his niece to the crown of England, as the great granddaughter of Henry the Seventh, in preference to those of Elizabeth, whose imputed illegitimacy and acknowledged heresy furnished arguments for her exclusion most satisfactory to Papal Rome and Catholic Europe; but the speculative claims of Mary, however plausible, availed little against Elizabeth's substantial rights of possession; and in the treaty of

Chateau Cambresis, she was formally recognised as the sovereign of England; yet, was this the moment chosen by the Cardinal, to invest his niece with the fictitious title of Queen of England, to cause her to quarter its arms on those of France and Scotland. An unwarrantable assumption that might have been overlooked as an ebullition of puerile vanity, but for the notorious fact that Elizabeth was stigmatized as a pretender by Paul the Fourth, and that a confederacy of Catholic potentates existed, of which the object was, to effect the extinction of heretical or liberal principles.

From an incident that occurred at this period, it is evident that whilst the Cardinal grasped for his niece the English diadem, she was not without apprehensions that the sceptre of Scotland might be transferred to another possessor. At the period of Mary's arrival in France, her kinsman, the Master of Hamilton, afterwards designated as the Earl of Arran, had been sent to the same country for education, trained to military service, and presented with a commission in the Scottish guards. Although it had long been notorious that this nobleman was attached to Calvinistic principles, his loyalty was untainted, till he suddenly withdrew from France in a manner that excited suspicion of his intentions to join the congregational party in Scotland. Orders were immediately issued for pursuing and detaining him wherever he should be discovered; but the Earl, who had taken refuge at Geneva,

remained in concealment, till, finally, through the agency of the English government, he found means to effect his escape and return to Scotland in safety. During several months, the movements of a solitary fugitive engrossed the French cabinet, and although his father, the Duke of Chatelherault, had long disclaimed the errors of heresy, it was feared that the example of his son, who, after Mary was presumptive heir to the crown, might infuse pernicious rigour into the Calvinists.

In reality, that sect had acquired incredible force from the impulse which, unhappily for his niece, the Cardinal had lately given to her mother's otherwise prudent administration; at the moment that intolerance provoked rebellion, the Queen Dauphin, by displaying at his instigation the armorial bearings of England, excited the jealousy of Elizabeth, confirmed the frantic suspicions of Arran, cemented the union between England and the Scottish Reformers, and furnished not only the motive, but the apology, for complicated machinations against the constituted authorities of Scotland.* From Throckmorton's confidential communications, it appears that a thousand suspicious rumours were whispered and believed respecting the resolution of Henry the Second to prosecute the presumptive claims of Mary Stuart. To counteract this supposed invasion of her rights, Elizabeth was importuned by her ambassadors to enter indirectly into correspondence with Knox,

* See Cabala; also Forbes' *State Papers*.

notoriously the author of the late commotions in Scotland;* and, as a precautionary measure, to promote dissensions abroad, in order to avert them from home.

The disappearance of the Earl of Arran not only provoked the Cardinal's vehemence, but drew even from Mary, expressions of resentment little in unison with her general character. Orders having been given to secure his person wherever he should be found, and that he should be brought to Paris whether alive or dead, a French officer, who was employed in this duty, recollecting that he was her kinsman, began to apologize for his performance of this duty, when she exclaimed, *that he could do her no greater favour than to destroy a rebel.* Whether, in expressing this sentiment, she adopted the language of her uncle, or that she really sympathized in his resentments, appears doubtful. According to Throckmorton, she had, for

* There is here, at Paris, the wife of Knox the preacher, and her mother, who do shortly depart into England, so far as I can understand. They have made means unto me, by divers Scottishmen, to have my letters in her favour, which I have promised to send by them to Mr. Secretary. In my poor opinion, considering what Knox is able to do in Scotland, which is very much, all this turmoil there being by him stirred as it is, it should stand your Majesty in stead his former faults were forgotten, and that no means be used to annoy him for the same, but that his wife, before she depart into Scotland, may perceive that there is no stomach borne to her husband, but that he may have good hope rather to look for favour and friendship of your Majesty than otherwise, which may work somewhat of good purpose.—Throckmorton's *Despatches*, from Forbes' *State Papers*.

some months, looked ill and dejected, and her unhappiness was increased by the conviction that Elizabeth had connived at Arran's evasion, and that he aspired to her hand, a surmise afterwards verified. That the daughter of Henry the Eighth should listen to his proposals, was scarcely in the verge of probability; but that it should have been possible, was enough for Mary's sensitive apprehensions. Arran and Elizabeth were already united by religious principles; if they should coalesce, why might they not effect that union between the sister kingdoms, so essential to their common welfare? The Protestant party was rapidly gaining strength among Mary's rebellious subjects; nor could the opprobrious epithet of faction disguise the truth, that it included the most distinguished nobles in the country, and wanted but an able and powerful chief to subvert the ancient establishment. Abstracted from personal considerations, Mary could not but be mortified by the obloquy which, in consequence of Arran's conduct, rested on her countrymen.* Thus various causes conspired to cor-

* There is marvellous discourse and turmoil here; and the Scotland men, who have hitherto had marvellous good countenance, are now but meanly regarded. Wherewith they are so offended, that they declare openly they are desirous to be out of France, and that they verily think the amity which hath so long continued between France and Scotland is now like to slack. Whereof what is now like to follow, I leave to your Lordship's judgment to consider.—Throckmorton, in Forbes' *State Papers.*

rode her tranquillity at the moment that Paris was again about to offer a series of nuptial festivities. Of those marriages the most important was that of the young Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Henry, with Philip of Spain.

The subsequent misfortunes of this amiable Princess have led to romantic details of her personal history, and she has been represented by French novelists as an unwilling victim of political necessity, compelled to give her hand to Philip with a heart devoted to his son Don Carlos. It should, however, be recollected that Philip, who was at that period but thirty-one, must have been far more attractive to the imagination of a cultivated girl of fifteen, than his supposed rival, a boy younger than herself, whom she had never seen, and whose immaturity was not compensated by any brilliant promise of personal or mental accomplishments.

The substitution of the King of Spain for the Prince of Asturias* (if for the latter she was ever intended), whilst it

* According to Vincent Carloix, the first overture for the treaty of peace and marriage was made through the intervention of a certain monk who, under the protection of the priestly garb, passed the Pyrenees, and by virtue of that privilege demanded a private audience of Philip, the King of France, whom he solemnly adjured to desist from hostilities, with an orthodox monarch, a faithful son of the church, exhorting him rather to unite with him in the pious work of exterminating rebellious heretics. At the instance of M. de Vieilleville, by whom he had been privately tutored for the mission between the two nations of the Pyrenees, he suggested to his Ma·

flattered the vanity of Henry and Catherine, displeased not even the modest Elizabeth, whose regrets in leaving France might reasonably be attributed to the affection she cherished for her family and her beloved country. The marriage of Margaret of France with the Duke of Savoy was far less acceptable to the people, who could ill brook that this Princess, the elder sister of Henry, so justly endeared by her blameless conduct and enlightened beneficence, should, in the wane of life, renounce her early connexions for a Prince who had signalized his valour in the cause of Spain, and never entered the field but as the enemy of her nation. Amidst

jesty that God himself had appointed the means by which concord was to be cemented, inasmuch as his consort the Queen of England being at the point of death, a young and beautiful bride was already prepared for him in the person of Henry's daughter, the accomplished Elizabeth. Having listened to the monk with complacency, Philip readily sanctioned his application to the King of France, not omitting to promise an ample recompense if he should ultimately succeed in his mediatorial vocation. Elate with success, the monk again crossed the Pyrenees, and in a similar strain addressed himself to Henry. Finally, whilst Vieilleville prompted the monk acted, and so adroitly was everything managed, that a truce was speedily demanded on the part of the Spaniards, and soon after conditions for peace were submitted to the respective plenipotentiaries. To the modern reader the interference of the monk may appear a romantic incident; but it is rendered plausible by the customs and manners of that age, when the most powerful monarchs had an interest in upholding ecclesiastical supremacy, and gladly consented to exercise a delegated authority.

these political discussions, the English ambassadors arrived in France, and were received with that magnificent hospitality which at that time formed a prominent feature of the French character. It was, however, observed that civilities were most eagerly pressed on them by the Constable Montmorency, to whose palaces of Chantilli and Eschouans they were greeted, not merely with befitting state, but cordial friendship. Having arrived within a mile of Paris, they were met by the Duke de Montpensier, and other princes of the blood, and by them conducted *booted and spurred* to the King's presence, so eager was Henry to behold, and to welcome them to France. After the usual salutations, they were led in the same dress to the Queen's apartment, and presented to Catherine and her daughters, the Queen-Dauphin alone being absent. A few days after, they paid their compliments to Francis and Mary at St. Germain's. With the former they merely exchanged the few brief words prescribed by ceremony; but the young Dauphiness spontaneously added an obliging compliment to Elizabeth, observing she had most reason to rejoice in the conclusion of the peace, as being their *Queen's cousin.** On another occasion Throckmorton remarked, "that she was ready to palliate the too obvious deficiencies of her insignificant husband." But her interposition was offered with extreme modesty and discretion, and when the affairs of Scotland were mentioned, she

* Forbes' *State Papers.*

referred the ambassador to the King, or her uncle the Duke of Guise. The increasing indisposition of this Princess was now the common subject of conversation;* and such was the jealousy excited by the arrogance of the house of Guise, that there were not a few among the French nobility who dwelt with undissembled satisfaction on the prospect of her dissolution. In all his despatches, the ambassador reiterates the assurance that she is not expected to be of *long continuance*, and advises his mistress to omit nothing in her power to conciliate the good-will of her Scottish neighbours.

Amidst the turmoils and jealousies of intriguing politicians, arrived the Duke of Alva, and Philibert, Duke of Savoy. To meet the former, a procession of twelve hundred men marched out of Paris, divided into the bands of Cardinal Lorrain, the Duke of Guise, the Prince of Ferrara, and the princes of the blood, all proudly displaying their colours, their devices, and their gorgeous liveries, and thus accompanied, the Duke of Alva entered the city in triumph, followed by a military train of two thousand men.

Elate with the anticipations of a new spectacle, the hotels of Paris were once more thronged with strangers; workmen

* "The Queen-Dauphin being the same day at church was very ill at ease, and to keep her from swooning they were fain to bring her wine from the altar; and indeed I never saw her look so evil; and as well the Scotchmen as Frenchmen do much distrust that she cannot long continue."—Forbes' *State Papers.*

and artisans were in constant requisition. In every quarter was preparing a scene of pleasure; and those who should have refused to participate in the common joy, must have borne the stigma of heresy or sedition. But at the moment when all breathed of pomp and voluptuous enjoyment, the attention of the capital was suddenly transferred to an object of all others most capable of inspiring interest and awakening sublime emotion—a virtuous man singly opposed to the enormous power of tyranny and injustice, and voluntarily sacrificing himself to the cause of humanity and truth. This distinguished individual was Anne Dubourg, a man well descended, and generally respected, not merely as a counsellor of the parliament, but for his intimate associations with Harlai, Seguier, and Du Thou, his compendious knowledge of the laws, his rigid probity and irreproachable manners. After the registration of the edict for establishing the Inquisition, the members of the parliament had been divided into two assemblies, which were designated by the appellation of the Great Chamber and the Tournelles, of which each alternately exercised its judicial functions. On the subject of religious delinquencies, a marked discrepancy was soon observed to pervade the decisions of those assemblies, who ought to have formed but one legal body. In the great chamber, where St. André Minard and other men of bigoted or venal principles pronounced judgment, the appealing heretic was without mercy delivered to the flames; but in the Tour-

nelles, where the milder influence of Du Thou, Harlai, Seguier, and Anne Dubourg, predominated, his punishment was either wholly remitted or commuted for banishment. Incensed at this simple but effectual opposition to his favourite scheme,* Cardinal Lorrain induced the King to convoke a general assembly of the parliament called the Mercuriales,† at which every member should be required to deliver his opinion respecting the progress of heresy. In obedience to the summons, the counsellors and judges collected in the Hall of the St. Augustins, but just as they were about to enter on the debate the folding doors were thrown open, and, to their unspeakable astonishment, appeared the King,‡ accompanied by the Car-

* See *Memoires du Marechal Vieilleville.*—LABOUREUR.

† These meetings were called Mercuriales from having originally been held on the Mercredi, the *Wednesday.*

‡ If credit may be given to Vincent Carloix, the Marquis Vieilleville had actually persuaded the King to relinquish his purpose; but his resolution was no sooner formed than communicated by certain spies to Cardinal Lorrain, who instantly proceeded to the King's chamber, where, owing to the lateness of the hour, he was refused admittance. Irritated by this impediment, he withdrew, not to sleep, but to assemble the Cardinals and Bishops, with whom he concerted a plan of operations to enforce the King's compliance. Early the next morning, accompanied by those ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the most eminent doctors of the Sorbonne, he presented himself at the King's levee; when, after a furious philippic against heretics, he congratulated Henry on his zealous defence of the cause of God; the cardinals and doctors expatiated on the same theme, till the

dinals of Lorrain and Guise, the Constable, the Chancellor, and the Duke de Montpensier. Having taken his seat, Henry declared, that since peace was restored to France, his next care should be to purify it from heresy, an object, for the accomplishment of which he had demanded their counsels, and, in listening to their deliberations, should hope to profit by their wisdom and experience.

It was impossible that the parliament could be blind to the motives of this extraordinary intrusion, which left the friends of toleration no alternative but to avow sentiments obnoxious to persecution, or, by timid acquiescence, to sanction the violent measures they were most solicitous to prevent. In spite of this conviction, there were many of the members who, relying on their personal privileges, shrunk not from the performance of an awful duty. Seguier, Harlai, and Du Thou, in common with almost all the moderate advocates for toleration, contented themselves with recommending the suspension of penal laws against heretics, and the convocation of a general council. Louis du Faur, with more energy, vindicated the Calvinists from the imputation of disaffection; pointedly remarking, that it was the *adulterer* and not the *sectary* who troubled the peace of society. Anne Dubourg followed in the

facile monarch, stunned by their eloquence, lost all power of resistance, and passively suffered himself to be dragged forward to the invidious task.

same strain, deprecating as equally absurd and impious the persuasion that the exercise of the reasoning powers was to be checked by the terrors of corporal punishment. "By such edicts," he exclaimed, "you may indeed deluge the country with blood, but remember the *arm of tyranny cannot reach to the immortal soul.*" Having given a lucid historical detail of the corruptions of the church, he demonstrated, that the primitive Christians had been as much traduced and persecuted as the modern reformers. "And what," continued he, "are the heavy charges adduced against these unfortunate people, for whom novel tortures are to be invented, and additional penalties created? Are they branded with impiety or blasphemy, with fraud or profligacy? No! even their adversaries confess that their morals and manners are beyond reproach! Are they suspected of treason? Who has ever heard them breathe the King's name but in pious prayers to invoke from heaven his happiness and prosperity? Are they seditious? Let it be proved that they have ever violated the laws, or neglected their relative duties; or, that they have ever been less ready than other subjects to evince their fidelity and loyalty. No; the crime of which they are really convicted is that of having detected and revealed the profligate morals of the court of Rome, of having proclaimed its deviations from the pure apostolic example, and exposed those corruptions

which, without a speedy and salutary reform, must inevitably lead to its final destruction." Anne Dubourg was permitted to finish his speech; but scarcely had the sitting closed, when Montgommeri, the captain of the guard, by the King's command, attended to take him into custody. The same violence was offered to Du Faur, and three other counsellors; whilst Henry, protesting they should not escape vengeance, returned to the palace to receive the felicitations of his bishops and courtiers. But he soon became sensible that even by his Catholic subjects this exertion of authority was not cordially approved.* A counsellor's robe inspired respect, the rights of a judge had hitherto been held sacred, and none but violent or unprincipled men could witness with indifference, the contempt avowed for the laws, and the ancient tribunals of justice.

After a brief examination, Dubourg was pronounced a convicted heretic, when Henry, again stimulated by Cardinal Lorrain and the influence of Spanish counsels, rashly exclaimed, that "he would himself witness his execution."

The 26th of June arrived, so long fixed for the espousals of the young Princess, who, to lessen the fatigues attending the ceremony, had slept at the bishop's palace, from whence,

* According to Vieilleville (see his Memoirs), many of the nobility remonstrated against the measure, and the better order of citizens deplored the violation of justice.

as on the occasion of Mary Stuart's marriage, a communication was made by a covered gallery, with the church of Notre Dame. Though elegantly formed,* Elizabeth presented not the majestic figure of the Queen-Dauphin; but, like her, was dignified in her mien, and eminently graceful in her movements. To the attraction of a brilliant complexion she added regular features, which were animated by large black eyes, equally expressive of vivacity and sensibility. The bridal dress was ill calculated to embellish a youthful countenance, and her delicate form was almost crushed beneath the weight of its ornaments. She was attired, or rather imprisoned, in a robe of cloth of gold, so completely studded with diamonds and precious stones, that, at a little distance, she appeared to realize the figurative expression of "robed in light," and dazzled the eyes by the refulgence of her garments. On her head was placed an imperial crown, almost composed of jewels, which might have purchased a petty kingdom, and of which a single diamond was valued at two hundred thousand scudi.†

Without possessing the solid learning or brilliant talents of Mary Stuart, this Princess had received considerable cultiva-

* See note at the end of this volume.

† An elaborate account of this marriage may be found in a small Italian tract, published at Venice, in 1559, entitled, "Discorso e particolar Notitia de le feste trionfi, fatte in Francia, dopo la conclusione del pace nel sposar, di Madame Elizabetta, primagenita del Re christianissimo, 1559."

tion; her mind and manners having been rather formed by the precepts of her aunt, the virtuous Margaret, than by the example of her ambitious mother; and if modesty, sweetness, and discretion might ensure to a woman a happy fate, it should have been reserved for the unexceptionable Elizabeth.

After dining with the bishop, the royal party, in compliment to the Spanish alliance, or to give an example of devotion, went to vespers, and from thence repaired to the palace, where supper was once more served on the marble table, the princes of the blood officiating as servitors. In the centre, between the new Queen and the representative of King Philip, sat Henry, rejoicing in the brilliant alliance he had formed for his favourite daughter, and in the restoration of his beloved Montmorency, who had resumed the functions of Great Master of the household, not without a consciousness of superiority over the princes of Lorrain. Reigning in the heart of his sovereign, fortified by his connexion with the family of Madame de Valentinois, and beholding, with exultation, his two eldest sons united to royal brides; this was, perhaps, the proudest, though not the noblest, moment of the veteran's life; nor was it his least gratification that many foreign princes witnessed his elevation; whilst the courtiers, anticipating a revolution in the ministry, by obsequious deference proclaimed his triumph.*

* The masques of the evening appear to have been inferior to

On the following day Montmorency received a flattering tribute of respect from the Princess Margaret,* who became his guest at the palace of Megret (near the Place St. Antoine), and was there betrothed to the Duke of Savoy.† A ball and banquet followed, at which was introduced an epithalamium, written by Joachim du Bellay, in honour of his royal patroness. Whatever might be the merit of the verses, they were chanted by three accomplished sisters, Diana, Lucretia, and Camilla Morel, eminent for their classical attainments, and, if the poet may be trusted, equally worthy to represent the muses or the graces. The next morning began the tournament, so fatal to Henry the Second, and the house of Valois.

those exhibited at the Dauphin's nuptials. In compliment to the Spanish grandees, was revived the old and almost exploded mummery of a rock riven asunder, and discovering six nobles and a castle, in which six other nobles were exposed to view. To the castle were affixed mirrors, formed in the shape of crescents, which reflected the whole scene, to the infinite delight of the spectators. A dance of nymphs and satyrs succeeded, in which, for the first time, cavaliers appeared in a female garb; a practice afterwards very prevalent in such amusements. At the conclusion of the banquet, the Duke of Alva, with a train of torch-bearers, attended Elizabeth to the door of her apartment, and there took leave, with a profound obeisance.

* See note at end of this volume.

† The Duke of Savoy was not fianced till the 27th of this present, at night, which was done at Megret, a house of the Constable's, near the place of the jousts, with great triumph; on which evening, also, an entry was made for the beginning of the joustes.—Forbes.

The Place Antoine, in full view of the Bastille, within whose walls the patriotic Anne du Bourg had been imprisoned, was the ground chosen for the tournament; and, on this spot, had been erected a theatre for the accommodation of the spectators. The concourse of foreign nobility was beyond all precedent; and the ambassadors, generals, and princes dazzled the eye with the splendour and variety of their national costumes. During the first day, precedence was yielded to the junior knights, and the illustrious strangers. The King-Dauphin's band began the jousts, with singular impropriety* displaying on their banners, in the presence of the English ambassador, the arms of England; and it was remarked, that when Mary Stuart was carried in her chair to the royal balcony, the attendant lackeys vociferated, "Place, place, for the Queen of England!"† On the morrow, Henry himself entered the course; proud of his martial air and equestrian skill, he eagerly seized the occasion for exhibiting his brilliant accomplishments; and, as usual, wore the black

* "The King-Dauphin's band began the jousts: two heralds, who came before his band, were Scots, fair set out with the King-Dauphin and the Queen-Dauphin's arms, with a scutcheon of England set forth to show, as all the world might easily perceive, the same being embroidered upon purple velvet, and set out with armoury upon their breasts, back, and sleeves."—Forbes' *State Papers*.

† That the pretensions of Mary to the crown of England had become a favourite theme at court, appears from the poem addressed to her by Joachim Du Bellay, inserted at the end of this volume.

and white costume, in honour of Diana de Poictiers. Next to Henry came the Duke of Guise, who, for the sake of some nameless beauty, always retained a crimson livery. The Prince of Ferrara, who followed, was habited in red and yellow; whilst the Duke of Nemours, with the insolence of a professed libertine, wore his favourite black and yellow, signifying, in symbolic language, that he was at once a faithful and favoured lover.*

In this puerile conflict, although Henry repeatedly triumphed, he was unsatisfied with popular applause, and seizing one of two lances which remained untouched, he challenged the Count Montgommeri to take the other. At this moment, a message was delivered from Catherine and the Princesses, imploring the King to quit the field. Regardless of their admonitions, Henry again rushed to the combat, where, amidst shouts and acclamations, he received his death-wound.†

"It has ever been the misfortune of the King," says Pasquier, "that he aspired to the first prize in jousting; and I

* Brantome.

† According to Throckmorton, the injury was not, at first, suspected to be serious.

"He was instantly unarmed; the hurt seemed not great, whereby I judge he is but in little danger. Marry, I saw a splint taken out of a great bigness, and nothing else done, but I noted him to be very weak; being come away, he moved neither hand nor foot; there was marvellous great lamentation made for him, and weeping of all sorts, both men and women."—Forbes' *State Papers.*

am persuaded he was, on this occasion, the more tenacious, from the desire he naturally felt to exhibit his prowess in the presence of the numerous foreigners who were assembled."

The impression which was produced in the public mind by this event, is thus detailed by the same impartial writer:— "This deplorable catastrophe has given rise to various sinister reflections; and, there are some who fancy they discover in it the visible retribution of Providence, since, if we may credit the assertions of Cardinal Lorrain, the King had hurried the peace purposely, that he might be at leisure to extirpate, by force, the heresy of Calvin. With this view, he suddenly presented himself to the parliament on the 10th of June; to collect the various opinions of the members, of whom the majority recommended the suspension of penal laws, and the convocation of a general council. In the course of these deliberations, the King having heard certain sentiments, with which he was justly offended, ordered several of the orators to be taken into custody. They were instantly conveyed to the Bastille, whence, according to certain sinister interpreters, the evil has lighted upon him, by the special will of God, for having interrupted men in the exercise of their official duties. It is also observed, that as it was on the 10th of June that he consigned the counsellors to the Bastille, so it was on the 10th of July, that he received the stroke of death; thus reason the misjudging multitude, who speak from passion rather than

reason. But it is a singular fact," adds Pasquier, "that he should have commenced his reign, on the 10th of June, with the combat of Jarnac and la Chataigneraie; and that, on the 10th of July, it was terminated in consequence of his combat with Montgommeri. Also, it appears (though I am little disposed to trust to phantoms and illusions), that this calamity was long since predicted by Cardan; and it is pretended, that a Jew of Rome, addicted to astrology, warned the King to beware of a duel; and so strongly was the Queen's mind impressed with this admonition, that she repeatedly besought him to quit the field. In conclusion," adds Pasquier, "his corpse lies in state in the very hall which he had erected for the celebration of the nuptial festivities. The Constable, in disgrace, watches the corpse; the Guises are omnipotent, the young King having espoused their niece; the Queen Mother is greatly commiserated; and consternation universally prevails with the people."*

With the fate of Henry the Second is intimately connected that of Anne Dubourg, whose history shall therefore be here concluded. The late judicial proceedings against that virtuous man had been necessarily suspended by the King's death; and it appeared improbable, that the new administration should

* Lettres de Estienne Pasquier, 8vo. edition. See also the extract from Henault's tragedy of Francis the Second, at the end of the volume.

persist in prosecuting a magistrate, who had been arrested in the discharge of his legitimate duty, and in exercising a privilege to which he was invited by his sovereign. Impressed with this belief, and relying on his own talents and experience, Dubourg, by a series of spirited appeals, actually succeeded, during some months, in parrying the attacks, and baffling the artifices of Cardinal Lorrain; but those resources at length failed, and every objection being overruled, the prisoner was directed to take his trial in the great chamber (where the church party predominated), instead of being arraigned before the whole parliament collectively assembled, to which he was legally entitled. Even here, however, the cause appeared not absolutely hopeless, and to the honour of his profession and his nation, advocates were found for Dubourg sufficiently intrepid and independent to undertake his defence. Of these the principal was Francis Marillac, brother to the celebrated bishop of Viennes, an orator even more distinguished by sagacity and discretion, than courage and eloquence. Aware that his client had many secret well-wishers, whom motives of pusillanimity had united with his enemies, the first step Marillac took was to conciliate certain leading members of the great chamber, who were tenacious of the privileges which had been impugned in the person of Anne Dubourg, and cordially disposed to embrace any decent pretext for his acquittal. Having secured their assistance, he concerted with them a plan, which, unless

it should be counteracted by Dubourg himself, ensured a prosperous termination to the process. To induce that upright magistrate to connive at duplicity or falsehood, was an undertaking too desperate to be attempted; but Marillac had the address to extort from him a promise, that during the trial he would remain passive and silent. Fortified by this assurance, on the day appointed the advocate opened the cause, with a delineation of the prisoner's character, and having descanted on his honourable descent, his high connexions, his pure and unblemished reputation, proceeded to expose the perversion of justice which had been manifested in his arrest and imprisonment; but instead of denying the competence of the great chamber to award judgment, he submissively appealed to its mercy: with equal address he conceded to the zealots that his client was not blameless; that, seduced by certain chimeras of perfection with which the reformers dazzled the imagination, he had become the dupe of their mischievous impostures; that the illusion being now happily dispelled, since the prisoner, who had ever been strictly attached to the laws and religion of his country, not only confessed his error, but humbly solicited the court's indulgence. In uttering these last words, Marillac looked significantly towards those magistrates who seconded his views, and who, observing the signal, hastily rose from their seats, and as hastily cleared the hall, leaving the astonished prisoner no alternative but to withdraw

in silence. For a moment Marillac exulted in success; but no sooner had Dubourg reached his cell, than he wrote a solemn disavowal of his Advocate's concessions, and to prevent the possibility of future subterfuge, explicitly avowed those religious tenets he had hitherto partially suppressed. In transmitting to the parliament this important document, he renounced every hope of life to preserve his own respect, and to repel the imputation, that to redeem life, or, what to such a mind was more important, to escape the consciousness that he had compromised his dignity. After his last communication, the parliament presumed no longer to withhold the fatal sentence; yet, in leaving to the King the alternative of death or imprisonment, it indirectly suggested an appeal to royal clemency. In the meanwhile, the friends and partisans of Dubourg relaxed not their exertions; but by a deplorable fatality, whatever steps were taken for his deliverance, served only to accelerate his destruction. An enterprise planned for his rescue, furnished an excuse for transporting him to the Castle of Vincennes. It was in vain that Madame de la Roye obtained from Catherine a promise of mediation never fulfilled; or that an application was transmitted to the Elector Palatine, whose personal intercession, it was believed, the ministers would not presume to resist. Unfortunately this last effort of his partisans transpired, and the Cardinal, to obviate the embarrassment it might create, despatched an order for the

prisoner's immediate execution. At the commencement of his prosecution, Dubourg had evinced ardour in combating the machinations of his enemies, and equal solicitude to prolong his existence; but, whether his enlightened mind presaged the calamities impending on France, or that the silent influences of religious feelings had kindled in his noble nature an enthusiastic passion for immortality; by whatever cause the change was produced, he had lately shown indifference for life, and with joy rather than regret received the intimation of his approaching dissolution. Anxious to perform during that interval every social religious duty, he employed his last moments in writing to his friends, in absolving the parliament from malice or premeditated injustice, and in conversing with a Calvinistic minister, whose suggestions fortified him in the belief, that, in dying for his principles, he should bequeath a fair and honourable example to his age and country.

On leaving his prison, Dubourg saw himself surrounded by soldiers, an unnecessary precaution, since no rescue was attempted. As he proceeded to the Place de Greve, he recognised among the numerous spectators several members of his own profession, with whom he had formerly lived in intimacy and friendship, and among them the son of the president Du Thou, who treasured up the last words that fell from his lips, and touchingly describes the looks of benignity and devotion with which they were accompanied. On reaching the place

of execution, Dubourg exclaimed, "Let the unrighteous forsake his ways and turn to the Lord, and he shall have mercy on him." Then observing his former colleagues, he said, "For you, O senators! may you all live long and happy; think of God only, for in him alone you live and have your being; I die for the truth, and I die rejoicing."—Having ascended the scaffold, he exclaimed, "O God, forsake me not, lest I forsake thee." He then undauntedly presented himself to the executioner, who performed his office; afterwards the body was consigned to the flames. Thus perished, in his thirty-seventh year, Anne Dubourg,* of whose pure unblemished life there needs no stronger testimony, than that the most zealous Catholics have never attempted to impugn his virtues. In him the parliament lost a vindicator of its rights—the Calvinists a judicious friend, and France one of its noblest ornaments. For the tyrants of his day was reserved a less ignominious fate; but in the progress of society those who, in his person, insulted reason and trampled on humanity, have been consigned to infamy or oblivion; whilst the cause of civil and religious liberty is still consecrated to the admiration of mankind, by the name and example of Anne Dubourg.

* See Du Thou.—*Mémoires de Condé.*—Père Daniel.—Garnier, *Histoire de France.*—Laboureur. To their honour the most zealous Catholics have done justice to his talents and his virtues.

CHAPTER VI.

JOY OF FRANCIS THE SECOND ON HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN.—UNFORTUNATE EFFECTS OF MARY'S INFLUENCE OVER HIM.—TRAIT OF CATHERINE'S ADDRESS.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN FRANCIS AND MONTMORENCY.—PAINFUL SITUATION OF MARY.—OBJECT OF CATHERINE'S JEALOUSY.—DIMINUTION OF THE COURT.—ITS REMOVAL TO BLOIS.—ALARM FROM THE CONSPIRACY OF JEAN RENAUDIE.—PRECIPITATE RETREAT OF THE KING AND TWO QUEENS TO AMBOIS.—SUSPICION AND DETENTION OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE.—ARREST OF CASTELNAU.—HIS NOBLE REPLY TO THE CHANCELLOR OLIVIER.—ANGUISH OF ANNE OF ESTE AT THE EXECUTION OF CASTELNAU.—DEATH OF OLIVIER.—COUNCIL OF FONTAINEBLEAU.—MONTLUC STATES.—NEW INTRIGUES.—CONVOCATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL AT ORLEANS.—THE KING'S ILLNESS.—DEATH.—IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES TO MARY STUART.

THE reign of Francis the Second, designated by French historians, as *le petit François*, may not unaptly be called the prelude to that mournful tragedy of St. Bartholomew, which a few years after was presented to Europe. Of this drama, it is a minute but characteristic feature that superior parts were allotted to inferior actors; and that in an age of talent, of power, and of energy, the supreme authority was consigned to an intriguing prelate, who was rather an orator than a statesman; and to a general, who might be more fortunate, but cer-

tainly not more meritorious than his princely peers. For this inversion of political as well as poetical justice, we must refer to the agency of Mary Stuart, at whose solicitation the enamoured Francis transferred to her uncles the command of his sceptre, and by that complaisance entailed calamity on the realm of France and the Queen of Scotland,—the land of his fathers, and the wife of his affections.

By the laws of France, the monarch was preposterously declared major at the age of fourteen : till that period he was committed to the tutelage of his mother ; the kingly functions being delegated to a council, over which presided the first prince of the blood, with the name and authority of regent. Unhappily for his country, Francis, who had nearly completed his sixteenth year, was no longer subjected to the control of those natural guardians : nor, however feeble in body and in mind, was he insensible to the gratification of asserting his prerogative in choosing for his ministers the Duke of Guise and Cardinal Lorrain, who had artfully induced his mother to sanction the appointment.

Although Catherine could not legally claim the custody of the King's person, she was authorized, as the natural guardian of his brothers (now presumptive heirs of the crown), to demand a share in the administration. In a parting interview with his consort, Henry had himself enjoined on her the performance of this parental duty ; and it was obvious, that by

coalescing with the Bourbons, the Constable, and the Chatillons, she might have formed a party sufficiently powerful to compel the Guises to relinquish their exclusive pretensions. On this step, had Catherine been swayed by female antipathies or affections, she would undoubtedly have determined: but, in her mind, ambition absorbed all other humbler passions; and she justly calculated that the Bourbons, as princes of the blood, would feel less dependent on her collateral support than the Guises, to whom her alliance was essentially necessary to counteract the prejudices excited by their foreign extraction and apparent usurpation of privileges, which, according to ancient usage, belonged exclusively to native princes. Influenced by these considerations, she declared in favour of those she had long execrated as her enemies; and having previously stipulated for the disgrace of Diana de Poictiers, consented to sanction with her name and presence their audacious usurpation.

It was during Henry's last moments, when his chamber was filled with weeping mourners, that those negotiations were concluded; but, though bred in a court, that monarch did not suspect that his faithful old *compère*, the Constable, had despatched a courier to Anthony, king of Navarre, conjuring him to hasten to Paris to assume the chief place in the administration, and offering to secure to him the exercise of his hereditary rights in the council. Unfortunately, the indeci-

sion of Anthony's temper prevented him, till too late, from listening to these friendly suggestions: the time that he wasted in deliberation, his rivals employed in action; ere Henry closed his eyes, every article of the future coalition was adjusted, and that nothing might arise to disturb the peace so lately re-established with foreign potentates, the marriage of the Duke of Savoy and Madame Margaret was privately solemnized in the royal chapel by torch-light; "not hailed," says Carloix,* "with hautboys, and songs of nuptial triumph, but accompanied with the sobs and sighs of the distressed bride and sorrowing spectators."

A few hours after this mournful ceremony, Francis, who during some days had been languishing under indisposition, was roused by the entrance of the Duke de Nemours, the Cardinal Lorrain, and the Duke of Guise, who, on bended knees, saluted him with the title of king. At this electric sound, the invalid leapt from his couch, and in a transport of rapturous amazement, protested he was well, and ready to listen to their good counsels. The next moment his mother, evidently dejected, entered the apartment, to accompany him from the Tournelles to the Louvre, where, according to custom, he was to receive such addresses and deputations as were usually offered to a new sovereign. Without hesitation, Francis obeyed the summons, and putting himself between the Cardi-

* Mémoires de Vieilleville.

nal and the Duke of Guise, cheerfully advanced to take possession of his new dignity. Mary Stuart, who, whatever might be her private sentiments, betrayed no symptoms of joy or triumph, walked beside Catherine in decorous silence; the latter absorbed in painful reflections, for one moment forgetting herself, advanced before her companion, and was actually descending the wrong staircase before she perceived her mistake; she had, however, the address to disguise her abstraction, under the semblance of a compliment to the young queen; and stopping abruptly, exclaimed, "Pass on, Madam; it is now for you to take precedence."* Although this manœuvre deceived not Mary, she accepted the courtesy with seeming gratitude; but, in her turn, insisted that Catherine should enter the chariot first.

With the same refined duplicity, Catherine commissioned Mary to demand from the Duchess de Valentinois, certain crown jewels, and on other occasions to assume consequence and authority.† As the Scottish princess was notoriously ignorant of state affairs, and, from the languor of ill health,

* This anecdote, originally in Mathieu, is from him mentioned by several writers, and particularly quoted in the *Observations on the Memoirs of Castelnau*, tom. iv., *de la Collection Universelle des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France.*

† "The yonge Queen is a great doer here, and taketh much upon her."—(All the French historians contradict the assertion.)—Forbes' *State Papers.*

even unwilling to be burthened with them, it is impossible not to surmise that her interference was extorted by her insidious step-mother. No sooner was the youthful Queen launched on political life, than she discovered how little the principles of honour, fidelity, and gratitude, were binding on statesmen. In climbing to power, the Guises had been constantly sustained by the friendship of Diana de Poictiers; yet, with the exception of her son-in-law, then Duke d'Aumale, all the brothers acquiesced, without scruple, in her disgrace. Catherine eagerly seized the office of the banished favourite, and one of her magnificent mansions; but finally showed, in her reprisals, a moderation creditable to her understanding, and which, in any other individual, might have been attributed to generous sentiments. From the great Constable, pride or dignity exacted some attention to decorum. Disconcerted by the indifference with which Anthony had received his invitations, and conscious with what hostility he was regarded by the Guises, the wary courtier remained two days at the Tournelles, apparently absorbed in the mournful task of watching the corpse of his late lamented master; but, in reality, distracted with doubts and jealousies, undecided whether he should at once retire from the field, or make a last effort to retain his place. After a struggle with himself, ambition triumphed, in the disguise perhaps of patriotism and parental affection; and having assembled his sons and kinsmen, he

repaired to the Louvre at the hour when the King dined, and, as usual, entering by a well-known private door the royal apartment, approached with expressions of homage and loyalty his gracious sovereign.

In beholding Francis in that place which he had so often seen filled by the warlike Louis the Twelfth, the brilliant Francis, and the affable Henry, it must have required all the self-possession of the courtly Montmorency to suppress emotions of sorrow, or even of disgust. To the reigning monarch, his feeble limbs and low stature gave an air of insignificance and meanness, which was not ennobled by one emanation of superior intellect. In his homely features there was nothing to please the eye; and, owing to an unfortunate nasal obstruction, he could not speak without offending the ear. From his cradle the victim of disease, he had been constantly intrammelled with nurses and physicians, and by them formed to habits of dull docility and indiscriminating acquiescence; but the name of king seemed instantaneously to communicate energy to his dormant faculties, and he already assumed that imposing self-command, so requisite to royal pageantry. Possessing in his gravity a substitute for dignity, and protected by an almost sullen reserve from the commission of any palpable impropriety, he met unawed the Constable's solemn aspect, and, after the ordinary compliments, taking the old statesman by the hand, led him into his cabinet, followed by the nume-

rous members of his family, who were formally recommended to his protection.

To this, Francis having promised acquiescence, the veteran proceeded to expatiate on his years and services; but the young King, who had evidently been prepared for this discourse, adroitly cut short his professions by observing that he was very sensible of all that he had performed for his predecessors and the state; that for the future he would relieve him from this too heavy burden, but that he assured to him for life the possession of his honours and his pensions, and that a seat in the council should be reserved for him whenever he felt disposed to assist his uncles and his mother with his wisdom and experience. Disconcerted by this unexpected proof of capacity, the sage Montmorency, disguising his chagrin, with profound reverence thanked his majesty for having so kindly anticipated the boon he had meant to solicit; but added, that as he gratefully accepted his permission to retire from public life, he must decline that seat in the council which men strong and active could better fill. That for himself he asked but to dedicate his remaining days to the duties of devotion, of which the first and most sacred should be to pray for the soul of his late beloved sovereign. With these words he withdrew, execrating the artifices and ambition of his successful rivals, and painfully convinced that he had no alternative but to retire from the field.

In this magnanimous resolution, though somewhat shaken by the insinuations of Catherine, he was confirmed when he attended the levee of Francis; where, to his unutterable astonishment, he found himself in the presence of the foreign ambassadors overlooked and neglected, scarcely noticed by the monarch, slightly saluted by the courtiers. A single glance fixed his purpose; and when he returned to the Tournelles,* it was only to superintend the funeral arrangements, and sincerely to deplore, perhaps even to shed bitter tears to the memory of his indulgent sovereign. Having performed this last duty, he departed from St. Germains to Chantilli, with a noble and princely retinue, composed of noblemen and gentlemen who, commiserating or resenting his disgrace, fol-

* The obsequies of Henry were performed with suitable pomp. Whilst the corpse was conveyed from the Tournelles to Notre Dame, the twenty-four criers proclaimed in succession at the corner of every street, "Pray, pray for the soul of the most Christian King Henry the Second." The procession to the church was crowded with princes, nobles, and foreign ambassadors, each of whom was paired with a prelate, with whom, according to Throckmorton, he carried on some trifling conversation to beguile the time; so little touched are those who have to sustain a part in the pageant, with the state and solemnity which powerfully affect the spectators. The body was consigned to the ancient vaults of St. Denis. Cardinal Lorrain said mass; an oration was also delivered; and, finally, the herald stood up, and, after having thrice repeated, "The King is dead," proclaimed as often the king his successor. Then sounded the trumpets to announce the last rite fulfilled; after which the estates adjourned to the hall to dinner.—Forbes' *State Papers.*

lowed on horseback, whilst the King and Cardinal seemed forgotten.

When the King of Navarre arrived, he perceived that, having missed the critical moment, he had no other resource than to propose the convocation of the States-General; a suggestion that was afterwards zealously seconded by politicians more cordially interested in its adoption. In the sequel, the recommendation of this measure became so offensive to the ministers that they repelled it by proclamation,* denouncing the penalty of treason on all who should maintain that the King was not major, or that he was incompetent to the legitimate functions of the sovereign.

In the same spirit, Cardinal Lorrain having, according to his plans of reform, retrenched the salaries of aged pensioners, veteran or disabled soldiers, to avoid their troublesome and

* "Alarmed by the symptoms of popular discontent, in which the princes of the blood but too justly participated, the Cardinal, instead of employing conciliatory measures, adopted those no less arbitrary than impolitic; and, without deigning to consult Catherine de Medicis, published a manifesto denouncing, as disloyal and seditious disturbers of public tranquillity, whoever should demand a convocation of the States; and it was maintained, that the nomination of a council tended to bring contempt on the royal authority, inasmuch as the King was major by the laws, and perfectly competent to govern himself and the people; and this edict was not only printed, but circulated through France."—*Mémoires de Castelnau.*—Observations appended to the Memoirs of Castelnau, in the *Collection Universelle de Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France.*

somewhat alarming petitions, caused a gibbet to be erected in the park of Fontainebleau, on which was an inscription menacing with death whoever should approach without license the gates of the palace.* Of these two last measures, the violence exclusively belonged to his own temper; but his brother, the duke, is equally implicated in the affronts and slights offered to the Prince of Condé, who, though he had long resisted the solicitations of his wife and her heroic mother to protect the Calvinists, was now impelled by resentment to espouse their cause, and even to join their communion. The administration of the Guises was marked by such headstrong rashness, and

* "Amongst other causes contributing to the insurrection of Amboise, it has been impossible to overlook the number of needy malcontents, whom the new system of retrenchment had reduced to misery and despair. The prodigality of Henry the Second having exhausted the finances, the Guises had no resource but to dismiss an immense number of officers of the household, who were chiefly old soldiers without other means of subsistence; to continue their salaries was impossible without the imposition of new taxes, a measure which the Cardinal ventured not to propose, lest he should forfeit the affections of the people. In this perplexity he adopted the expedient already mentioned, of causing a gibbet to be erected for the intimidation of importunate suitors. As he had foreseen, the multitude disappeared; but it was in uttering curses and execrations, which were soon echoed through every province of the kingdom. With so many combustible materials prepared, it was impossible but that the flames should soon burst forth."—Observations appended to the Memoirs of Vieilleville. *Collection Universelle des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France.*

puerile presumption, as might well countenance the belief that the state was actually governed by a monarch of sixteen. With every quality that belongs to an enterprising general or gallant cavalier, the Duke, as a statesman, was neither enlightened nor sagacious; mistaking obstinacy for firmness, and bigotry for dignity, he carried to the council the rules of military despotism, the jealousy of his race, the tenacity of the fanatic, ready to sacrifice France or Europe to the interests of a single party. In the Cardinal, a churchman without religion, morals, or even decorum, the defects of his brother were aggravated by all that belongs to cupidity, violence, and pusillanimity. Unfortunately his faults were relieved by brilliant and versatile talents, which disguised the shallowness of his judgment, the turpitude of his views, the extravagance of his speculations. That the government of such men should have been endured, even with the co-operation of Catherine, would appear incredible, but for the reflection that the dignified clergy and bigoted papists had an interest in their success, and that they were idolized by the Parisian populace; equally endeared to the alarmists, who deprecated toleration, and to the fanatics, who, even without the bribes offered to idolaters, were eager to hunt out heretics, and by an exhibition of images to ensnare them to their ruin.* Another circumstance,

* It was customary to expose images in the streets, with an invocation, to the charity of the by-standers. As the heretics were

which perhaps operated with the nobles, as a motive of forbearance, if not indulgence, was the alarming indisposition of the young queen, Mary Stuart, on whose personal influence her uncles were supposed to depend for the preservation of their authority.*

The ill health of Mary, so constantly attributed to mental causes, sufficiently proves, that even at this epoch of her greatness, so often referred to in after life, her position was far from enviable. In assuming the state of a queen of France, she was more than ever subjected to her uncles; who required not merely her unremitted, though unobtrusive services with Francis, but her wary observation of Catherine, to whom, with that jealousy inseparable from the consciousness of usurpation, they incessantly ascribed an intention to negotiate with their rivals, or to tamper with their adversaries.

known to abhor idols, a refusal to comply with this solicitation was construed into a tacit avowal of Calvinistic principles.

* One day the Spanish ambassador mentioned to Throckmorton, that, having been in company with the French King and Queen, "the latter looked *very evil*, and was so weak, as even before all who were there, she fell into a swoon, and was in very dangerous case, as she is always after dinner, when she was, with a great ado of aqua vitæ and other things, revived, and retired to her *chamber*." According to the same ambassador, the Vicomte de Noailles, anticipating Mary's death, preposterously suggested the expediency of a marriage between Elizabeth and Francis; adding, "But, alas! her Majesty is too wise for a child."

In the execution of this delicate task, it was impossible but that Mary should become an object of antipathy to Catherine, who, finding herself thwarted in her efforts to efface those impressions the young King received from the two brothers, and therefore virtually excluded from participation in the government, attributed to Mary alone, and her *seducing sweetness*,* the opposition to her maternal influence, which was the more galling to her pride, as she well knew that she had herself facilitated to the Guises the acquisition of their unlimited dominion, nor was Catherine slow to perceive, that the young Queen had sufficient penetration to detect clandestine movements; and that she communicated to her uncle whatever she knew or surmised of her political intrigues, a grievance of which she could not complain without inculpating herself, but which she afterwards revenged, not only by insinuations (apparently unfounded) that she had been treated with disrespect, but by every unkindness that malice could suggest.† From

* De Thou.

† To substantiate these insinuations, we find an anecdote repeated by several French historians, but which rests on the single and suspicious authority of the Nuncio, Prosper St. Croix, who probably received it from Catherine herself. In his Letters is the following passage: *La Regina di Scotia un giorno gli disse que non sarebbe mai altro che figlia d'un mercante, et questo si stima que fosse detto à soggezione di Lorreno.* The Queen of Scotland one day said to her (Catherine), "*That she could never be more than the daughter of a merchant*, and this remark was believed to have been made at the suggestion

the communications of Throckmorton and other contemporary memoirs, it is evident, that Catherine was treated with every external mark of respect by the Guises, who deprecated her displeasure; by Mary, who sympathized in all their wishes; and Francis, by whom she was both honoured and feared, and for many reasons perhaps little beloved.

Nor was the enmity of Catherine the only penalty with which Mary was visited for her subserviency to the Guises; born to be sacrificed to their sinister schemes of policy and ambition, she had excited, by her rash assumption of the armorial bearings, the eternal jealousy of Elizabeth, who, first, by that usurpation, was induced to enter into an intimate correspondence with the chiefs of the reforming party, to whom, from her resentment to Knox, she had originally shown repugnance.*

of Lorrain;" but at what period could it have been the policy of the Cardinal or his brother to incense Catherine against their niece or themselves? The story refutes itself.

* *Throckmorton to Cecil.*

"Whereas I wrote unto you on the behalf of John Melvin, upon the desire he had to serve the Queen's Majesty, and to be employed upon the borders. I do since understand by his letter, that he remains at London unemployed; he saith, that you have made an overture of service to him to be done in the inland, whereunto albeit he hath, as in other, a good will and affection; yet, weighing his elder brother's case, he may not safely repair, because he is a Scotchman, and may with less suspicion enter the border to learn intelligence and to practise than an Englishman may; and also, for that he doubteth not, being acquainted both with Mr. Knox and

But the climax of every evil was the spirit of disaffection they had excited in Scotland, by the desperate attempt to reduce the

others, by whom things may be learnt and brought to good purpose, it may like you, therefore, his desire considered, to do that may serve most for the advancement of the Queen's service; but albeit I know, that there is nothing omitted by you, that may be requisite for the practice now in hand northward, I cannot, but when things come to my remembrance, which, in my opinion, seem necessary to be done, intimate the same unto you. The master of Maxwell, who broke out of prison in Edinburgh, is a great enemy, as I am credibly informed, to Monsieur d'Ozell, for some particular and private cause, besides his hatred generally to the Frenchmen; forasmuch as he is against them, and hath a great many of his devotion ready to follow him, it were well done, if some means of practice were devised, to be administered to him in such sort as shall be thought most convenient."—*Haynes' Papers.*

Memorial from the Queen to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

"The safe conveying of the Earl of Arran hither into this realm of Scotland, seemeth here a thing both profitable and needful, the doing of it cannot be here prescribed to your discretion, wherein he shall deserve great commendation; it must be done secretly, as well in respect of the Emperor's subjects and friends and the King Catholic, as of the French; and herein haste, so it be with discretion, is thought most necessary. The entertainment of
is thought very convenient, and you may offer to him 500 crowns pension. As for Florence Diaceto, his entertainment is thought not so needful as the others; but yet the Queen is content to accept his service, and will reward it with some pension; if he means to go into Germany, for his own purpose it might, as it is thought, do good to solicit Sturmius to proceed in procuring a common league, to be made amongst all Protestant Princes of their faith. Melvin,

reformers by force; an enterprise, to which, if we may credit contemporary writers, they were not so much prompted by fanatical zeal, as by the necessity of finding employment abroad for the discontented soldiers, whom it was unsafe to disband at home. Although no blame can reasonably be imputed to Mary, for a passive, or perhaps involuntary acquiescence in measures which she could not prevent, she inevitably became an object of suspicion and obloquy to two-thirds of her subjects, who afterwards repaid with violence and injustice the lessons they had received from their oppressors. It is not easy to ascertain how far Mary actively participated in her uncle's schemes for the subjugation of Scotland; but which, considering with what tenacity she upheld the faith of her fathers, it is not improbable that *conscience* sanctified to her eyes what with him was merely the suggestion of mundane policy. Every circumstance of her situation was calculated to nourish bigotry;—her four Maries, the companions of her childhood, were sprung from strict Catholic families. All the members of her household, her tutors, her preceptors, were imbued with the same spirit: the pride of ancestry, the incitements of interest, the dreams of ambition, conspired to heighten the abhorrence, which, even in infancy, she had im-

the Scotchman, may be thought of hereafter," &c. &c.—*Haynes' Papers.* Various documents of the same kind might be produced from the state papers.

bibed for heretical innovations. Nor is it unlikely, but that the idea of being recognised at Rome as the rival or successor of Elizabeth, lent additional energy to these sentiments. Another collateral support to her bigotry, or constancy, might be discovered in the calumnies with which Cardinal Lorrain assailed the reformers; to whom he artfully attributed immoralities the most scandalous and offensive to the female sex. Although the falsehood of these charges was now demonstrated, the impression they had originally produced was not easily effaced. The toleration of Catherine, whether springing from indifference or hypocrisy, must have had an inevitable tendency to strengthen, in her daughter-in-law, an aversion for the reformers, whilst she dwelt with enthusiasm on the heroic constancy with which her cousin Mary of England had adhered to the ancient faith. In any other rank than that of a Queen, little importance would have been attached to the opinions of a young person, who had scarcely completed her seventeenth year; but such was the position of Mary, that to France, England, and Scotland, she became equally an object of suspicious attention; and the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who favoured the kirk in his communications to his court, laboured to impress a belief that the *young Queen* participated in the intolerant spirit of Cardinal Lorrain, and in his personal hostility to Elizabeth; but with whatever diligence this ambassador might have pursued his inquiries, respecting

Mary's conduct, it was impossible he should have fathomed her real sentiments. At this period her intimacies were confined to her own family; even her favourite, Mademoiselle Mercœur, afterwards Madame de Martigues, had no opportunity to abuse her confidence. Without losing her native affability, she adopted the reserves of Francis; emulated the self-possession of Catherine, and sympathized in the gentle feelings of Anne of Este; but the qualities by which she seemed most distinguished, were gravity and discretion. The susceptibility of her nature might, perhaps, be detected, in the anxieties that consumed her unripened youth. The secret of her ambition escaped in the eagerness with which she grasped a visionary crown; and in the jealousy with which she resented Elizabeth's supposed invasion of her own sceptre. Nor with less solicitude did she watch the progress of the Earl of Arran's wooing, or speculate on the audacious pretensions of Robert Dudley. Little did she then imagine she was herself so soon to become an object of similar vigilance and suspicion to her royal rival; still less could she have believed, that within a few short years, love should teach her to forget the crown of France; and that, like Angelica, fascinated by a comely face, she should prefer to kings and princes, the elegant Henry Darnley.

According to Throckmorton, the fatal *armorial bearings* afforded a seasonable novelty to the French court, they were

even conspicuous at the sacre of Francis, which, on the 15th of September, was solemnized at Rheims. "At the gate of this city the King was received by a maid, representing the town of Rheims, who, after a few words spoken of submission, delivered the keys thereof to the King, who gave the same to the lieutenant, the Duke de Nevers, to open the gate. There was in that place very little or no show at all, saving that the arms of England, France, and Scotland, quartered, were very trimly set out over the gate; from thence he was straight conducted to the church of Notre Dame, and there received by the Cardinals, Lorrain, Givry, Bourbon, and Chatillon, in their pontificalibus, accompanied with some crosses, and a number of priests in copes. When the King was once entered into the church, the Cardinal Lorrain made an oration to him, which ended, the King proceeded towards the choir, led on his right side by Cardinal Givry, and on the left by Cardinal Chatillon, to the high altar, where, after he had knelt and prayed, he offered to the altar a golden image of St. Francis, and kissed the cross; and so went to his palace, without other ceremony or show at all. The same day the young French Queen made her entry, and was received at the gate with a little oration, and with a small train conducted to the palace."

During the remainder of the summer, the royal family were in such perpetual progress, that it should seem to have been the King's only pursuit to establish his rights of occupancy

in the various palaces, of which he was nominally the possessor.

These desultory movements were useful in disguising the comparative depopulation of the court, where, owing to the absence or approaching departure of three princesses, a mournful blank was perceived in its brilliant circles. With the Duchess of Savoy vanished many men of letters, who had been attracted to it by her patronage and protection. The separation of the Queen of Spain and the Duchess of Lorrain, diffused a gloom, which was deepened by the late political revolutions. With the Constable disappeared his formidable host of retainers; the spirit of party continued to thin the ranks of princes and nobles, and, with the exception of the Montpensiers, and Roche-sur-yons, no Bourbon approached the palace: the Admiral Coligny and his sister, Madame de la Roye, were almost the only Calvinists who had sufficient courage and self-possession to enter it with impunity.

In the princes of Lorrain, a sort of pusillanimous suspicion conspired with bigotry and ambition to render them averse to all but their partisans and retainers. And although Francis, in conducting to the frontier his two sisters, the Queen of Spain must have passed those chateaux which his father had been accustomed to visit,—he was not permitted to challenge their hospitality, but cautiously retired to some abbey or other habitation belonging to the house of Guise. It was not with-

out regret that he parted from his two sisters, the Queen of Spain and the Duchess of Lorrain. With the consort of the latter, he had been educated in strict habits of intimacy; and for the amiable Claude he ever cherished the most tender affection. Without possessing the brilliant talents of her sister, or emulating the learning of her aunt, the Duchess of Savoy, this princess sympathized in her gentle dispositions, and emulated her charity and munificence. It was the fate of Claude, like her sister Elizabeth, the Queen of Spain, to sink into an untimely grave; but singularly was she favoured above her surviving relatives of the house of Valois, of whom none were permitted to taste of tranquillity; united to the first and only object of her affection, by whom her tenderness was fully repaid, during her short but happy life, she inspired in her husband's subjects sentiments of filial respect, and at her death bequeathed a pleasing example of conjugal harmony and female virtue.

Under the Guises, as might be expected, a new system of manners, as of policy, had been introduced, and already had the vices of the government familiarized crimes formerly abhorrent to the French people. The patronage of delators and spies was followed by perjury, treachery, and assassination;—religious feuds dissolved the ties of friendship and consanguinity;—with public honour was destroyed private confidence.

In the joyless court of Francis, Mary was incessantly harassed with fears for Scotland: to these was soon added domestic inquietude. Within the last six months, Francis had so rapidly increased in size and stature, that he seemed to have sprung at once from childhood to maturity. The Guises, who had beheld with exultation a developement, which appeared to furnish ocular demonstration of his *majority*, soon observed, with dismay, a total change in his complexion, and various symptoms of decline, for which the perplexed physicians recommended aromatic baths and the milder climate of Blois. To that place he journeyed late in December; but no marks of sympathy or loyalty awaited him; prejudice and calumny preceded his steps. To whatever village he arrived, the people fled at his approach. A horrible tale had been circulated respecting the nature of his disease, of which it was mysteriously insinuated, that to bathe in the blood of infants could alone administer a cure. Appalled by the suggestion, mothers with frantic haste deserted their homes, and, to protect their offspring, took refuge in the neighbouring forests. Touched, even to agony, with these demonstrations of abhorrence, the young Francis, though soothed with the utmost tenderness by Mary, exclaimed, "What have I done to be thus shunned and detested? They fly me; my people abhor me! It is not thus the French used to receive their King." "Oh my uncle," he

added, addressing the Cardinal, "I would it were rather you than me that they hated."*

Of this problem a solution was soon offered in the famous conspiracy of Amboise, of which the object appears to have been to remove the King from the Cardinal's custody to the Princes of the blood, who were either the protectors of Calvinism or the advocates of toleration.

Of this audacious enterprise the ostensible chief was Jean le Barri, or Renaudie, a man utterly ruined in fortune and reputation. The partial revelation of his plot suggested to the ministers the necessity of an immediate removal from Blois, which was unfortified, to the neighbouring castle of Amboise. But not to spread among the conspirators an alarm that, by arresting their steps, might prevent the complete developement of their scheme, the migration of the court was effected under the pretence of a frolic after hunting. On reaching the massive gates of the castle, ladies and cavaliers dismounting, gayly ascended the rugged stairs, and ran over the desolate apartments, which were wholly unprepared for their reception. To supply the means of accommodation at once became an exercise and amusement, and ere many hours had elapsed, the hollow roofs echoed the long-forgotten sounds of mirth; singing and dancing, the viol and the lute, banished care. The company, who no longer found it safe to pursue their recrea-

* Mathieu, Varillas, Garnier.

tions beyond the castle, resorted to the gardens; where, to give zest to the hackneyed pastime of running at the ring, the combatants appeared in female attire; a practice which with other novelties had been introduced at the nuptials of Elizabeth and Philip. The most illustrious princes disdained not to take a part in this buffoonery; and the ladies, as usual, contemplating the scene from their balcony, showered applause on a burlesque pantomime which was soon to be succeeded by many a tragical reality.*

* "The principal combatants were the great Prior of France (the junior Prince of Lorrain), and the Duke de Nemours; the former, mounted on a Barbary courser, presented the costume of a gipsy, wearing on his head a large round hat or turban, a robe and coat of velvet and taffetas, whilst in his left hand he carried a small ape, which had been taught to imitate the accents of an infant. His antagonist, the Duke de Nemours, was attired as a simple Bourgeoise, with her broad hat and black cloth gown, a large leathern purse, and enormous bunch of a hundred jingling keys suspended from the girdle. He was mounted on a martial steed of a beautiful bay colour, well known by the name of Real, many of whose admirable exploits rivalled those of the most renowned steeds of chivalry. No sooner had he received his master's signal, than, bounding forth with three paces, he cleared the distance from the beginning to the end of his career, whilst the gallant rider kept his seat, to the astonishment of the men and rapturous admiration of the ladies. But all other sensations yielded to risibility, when, at every leap of Real, the jingling keys, like sonorous bells, overpowered all other sounds in their shrill and somewhat clamorous symphony. Ten times the combatants were whirled along the ring with equal velo-

Under this masque of levity were concealed sorrow, chagrin, fear, and all the darker passions. Among the inmates of the castle was Renée Duchess of Ferrara, who, on her husband's death, had returned to France, with the hope of spending her remaining days in tranquillity; but here she found with grief, only persecution and misery. Not less unhappy was Anne of Este, who still sympathized too intimately in her mother's sentiments not to reprobate the system adopted by her ambitious husband. More deep, though silent, was the affliction of the Chancellor Olivier, whom the Guises had recalled from his delicious retirement of Leuville, to sanction with his name and authority offences committed against reason, justice, and humanity. Catherine herself, at length awakened to a sense of danger, by the representations of the enlightened Michael de l'Hôpital, from whom the Duchess of Savoy had parted, that he might, if it were possible, avert ruin from his country, —even Catherine, for once suspending selfish calculations, fixed her attention on the state of the people, to the Guises recommended a reunion with the Chatillons, and invited Admiral Coligny and his brother to assist at their deliberations. The

city: both seemed to float in air; and the rapidity of their movements fatigued the eyes, and confused the heads of the spectators. The eleventh course, in spite of the stagfooted Real, the Barbary courser pricked forward, and the Prior, striking the quaintain, bore off the prize in triumph."—Brantome *Vie du Grand Prieur de France.*

Chatillons openly denouncing the sanguinary system of oppression which had been introduced, advised the suspension of religious persecution, and the convocation of the States General. With his usual duplicity, the Cardinal affected to adopt their advice, by issuing an edict for suspending the prosecution of heretics, whilst he attacked the main support of the Calvinistic party, by persuading the King that the conspiracy of Renaudie was in reality organized by the Prince de Condé.

At this moment, when all was suspicion or distraction at court, the Cardinal sought to conciliate the English ambassador, who had complained of the armament destined for Scotland, and even attempted to draw from Elizabeth a promise, to withhold assistance from the lords of the congregation. The account of this conference affords a fair specimen of French and English diplomacy, as exemplified in the grave, but sagacious Nicholas Throckmorton, and the versatile Cardinal, whose brilliant talents were often marred by vanity and presumption. After a dinner, at which the English ambassador had met the Dukes of Guise and Nemours, and other princes, the Cardinal led him to a private apartment, where, after having solemnly disclaimed all hostile intentions towards Elizabeth, in the armament prepared against Scotland, he entreated his guest to state to him frankly, on what grounds his sovereigns complained of the French cabinet. In his reply, Throckmorton

laid great stress upon the assumption of the armorial bearings. To this the Cardinal adroitly opposed the charge of his mistress having shown too much countenance to the Scottish rebels. It will be proper to give this answer in his own words, as a curious exposition of his views of legislation, and the imposing frankness with which he affected to explain his conduct.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur, we have cause to thank her Majesty that she dealeth thus frankly with us, to declare unto us her griefs, which we knew not of before; and for our parts, because you have declared unto me the ground of yours, I will particularly answer to the same; and first, because you shall the better perceive my master's meaning for his doings in Scotland: thus it is:

"About the conclusion of the late peace, the prior of St. Andrews, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earl of Glencairn, with their adherents, of their own authority, went about to alter religion, of which, being advertised by the Queen Regent, commissioners were sent to have the matter come to debating and deciding, because we were desirous to stay the matter without rigour: they not only refused to come to reason, but refused to attend to the commission, derogating thereby the authority of the King and the Queen, for which they deserved severe punishment. Notwithstanding the King sent pardon unto them so as they would hearken unto reformation, which

they regarded as much; and at length the King himself wrote unto them several letters, sent by La Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens, which they utterly refused to receive, and in the end came so far, that they would order things as pleased them, and take the authority from the Queen Regent, who was by a just parliament so ordained; and by a parliament of a few of them, and their accomplices, they seek to order the state themselves; whereupon the King was, in the end, constrained to use his force against them; moved thereunto by example's sake, to his own subjects, for surety of the Queen's mother, and honour of the King, and maintenance of the Queen in her right; and, added he, we have at no time sent provision of men, victuals, and ammunition thither, but we have caused our ambassadors to inform the Queen thereof, as loth to cause suspicion, and yet minding so to chastise her rebels there; and what have we done herein prejudicial to the Queen, your mistress? and may we not chastise our rebels? and will the Queen take upon her the defence of those whom she knoweth to be and hath called rebels? for we have letters with the words she hath spoken to our ambassador, and that she would rather see them perish than help them."—Throckmorton. "How they be rebels I know not, and much less that the Queen, my mistress, hath called them so."—Cardinal. "Yes, that she hath done."—Throckmorton. "This is your case;

but as for our case, we have cause to doubt your great preparation for war, however you colour the same."

The question being waived, Throckmorton continues:

"But as for the matter of Scotland, it is known that the fourth part of this preparation needeth not, their case being as it is; for either in granting their liberties and privileges to the noblemen all troubles may cease, or else with a small power they might be brought to order; the proof whereof appears by Queen Dowager's proceedings, in having, with a few, separated and driven them from Edinburgh."

Here the Cardinal, after having reiterated the protestation, "that the armament had no other object than the subjugation of Scotland," adds, that, "it was chiefly for the sake of example and the behalf of religion;" and with an insinuating frankness, acknowledged the errors and abuses which had crept into the church, for which he conceived no other remedy could be found, than the convocation of a general council.

As a proof of his own predilection for tolerant principles, he adds,

"Even three days past, we have published an edict* to suppress the punishment of men for religion, and have licensed all men to live according to their conscience."—"And of this purpose," says Throckmorton, he made such an oration as it

* A proclamation rather, at the suggestion of Coligny, as above mentioned.

were too long to write, even as though he had been hired by the Protestants to defend their cause so earnestly." The Cardinal continued; "And, therefore, seeing we now accord to the Scots to live according to their conscience, and they not content therewith, we must use them as rebels, and send force to chastise them—to teach them to know their sovereign."

Hitherto both parties had but exercised their weapons: the Cardinal now rushed upon the real subject of the conference, by asking abruptly, whether Elizabeth meant to assist the Scots, which, for divers reasons, must be prejudicial to her real interests. Throckmorton parried this attack, by doubting whether any rebellion existed in Scotland. The Cardinal had recourse to flattery, which he lavished on Elizabeth and her ambassador, protesting that he was greatly beloved in France, for his personal qualities. Again shifting his ground, he exclaimed :—

"With regard to the arms which the King and Queen bear, I marvel that we never heard of it till now."—Throckmorton. "Whether you heard of it or not, I know not; at the beginning, I opened the matter to the Constable, and declared that it was not correspondent with amity; and what meaneth it that you offer this injury only to the Queen my mistress, by whose means you had peace? for, if she had not more regarded the universal peace of Christendom than her own private convenience, she might have had Calais; and you know that

King Philip would have made no peace without us, for he would hearken to no conditions till we were satisfied."

This was a home thrust; and Throckmorton quaintly describes the discomfiture of his adversary:—

"He put his finger to his nose, and scratched a little, where I think it did not itch."

The Cardinal recovers the parole by the common manœuvre of throwing the blame on his adversary:—

"You complain; but we have most cause to do so, and the King mindeth to conserve the amity; and therefore, I pray you, devise what will satisfy the Queen, your mistress, and she shall be contented; and for these injuries that have been done us, and the taking of our ships, we will omit them, and forget them: I know, if you will, you may do all this matter, and therefore, put to your helping hand, and I will do the like for my part."

The conference being closed, Throckmorton was conducted to the royal chamber, where he found the young King surrounded with princes and nobles. Their interview was brief; Francis, having few ideas, was discreetly sparing of words.

"I presented him," continues the ambassador, "with your Majesty's letters, which perused, he inquired, first, how you did, and whether you loved hawking and hunting? I told him your Majesty was in good health, and that, albeit, you loved such pastimes well, yet your Highness was not altogether so

much addicted to them as he. He then declared unto me, that he understood, by his uncle, the Cardinal, the matters I had to say to him."

The ambassador not thinking recapitulation necessary, prepared to take leave, when the King, who found, in the ceremonial of the court, some relief from his own personal insignificance, asked him to see his mother, not mentioning his wife, who evidently held a subordinate rank. Throckmorton was, finally, ushered to the presence of Catherine, on whose right-hand sat the young Queen, attended by her ladies, with no other gentlemen than an old Cardinal, and Admiral Coligny. Throckmorton having presented his letters to both Queens, addressed an elaborate compliment to Catherine, of which Mary, with that address, which is soon acquired in a court, appeared not to hear a syllable.

"The Queen Dowager thanked your Majesty for your remembrance and good opinion,—the *réciproque wanted not in her*, as it should be found when occasion ministered, being sorry that any cause should arise to the contrary, which she would, for her part, seek to avoid; that your Majesty should be satisfied, and that the King, her son, was your Highness's good brother, and so would continue, praying me to set to my helping hand, for she would be glad, and so would the Queen, her daughter (and turned to her, who, thereupon smiled), that all things were amicably composed."

Here Mary rejoined, with a vivacity which not all the ceremonial of the court could wholly suppress,

"Yes, my good sister may be assured to have a better neighbour of me, being her cousin, than of the rebels, and so, I pray you, to signify to her."

In a subsequent interview, Mary dissembled not her displeasure at the belief that the Scottish lords had shown the English Queen more respect than they yielded to her, their native sovereign; and it was evident, from her conversation, that she participated in the restless suspicions which invested the court, and, in a manner, formed its atmosphere. Already had Cardinal Lorrain prejudiced the King's mind against the Prince de Condé, who, like Coligny, was invited to the castle as a friend, and, on his arrival, arrested as a prisoner, but though his papers were examined, his servants searched and interrogated, no evidence could be extracted to substantiate the accusation of his enemies; and such was the frank and fearless intrepidity with which he met the charge, that finally, when he challenged to single combat any who should impeach his loyalty and honour, the Duke of Guise, who naturally loved the brave, pledged himself to be his second.*

* The following observations, which have been sanctioned by the approbation of a body of enlightened men, comprise, in a few words, all that has been clearly ascertained respecting the conspiracy of Amboise.

The Catholic writers of the day very generally attempted to incul-

But the Cardinal, though baffled in this instance, discovered another object worthy of his vengeance in the brave Baron Castelnau, who having taken arms, avowedly to release the King from the usurpation of the princes of Lorrain, took the command of three hundred troops, and occupied a castle in the vicinity of Amboise.

pate the Prince de Condé and the Colignys; supporting this opinion by the celebrated consultation of civilians and theologians, respecting the rights of the people to resist the usurpers who had abused the youth and credulity of an inexperienced sovereign. Davila assigns a principal part to the Constable. A modern writer, Père Daniel, has not scrupled to associate with him Admiral Coligny; but it is certain no contemporary writers countenanced the suspicion; neither, if they did, could vague conjectures be received as accredited evidence. Had Père Daniel referred to M. de Castelnau and De Thou, he would have discovered that both the Admiral and M. Andelot repaired, without hesitation, to Amboise, at the first summons, and that their unembarrassed manners bespoke the confidence and boldness of innocence: if conjecture be once admitted, who shall escape suspicion? Even Catherine de Medicis has, by some authors, been implicated in the transaction.—See *Mémoires de Tavannes*. This, at least, is certain, that the real leader of the enterprise remained behind the scene. With regard to the Prince de Condé, it will not be found that he is criminated by any substantial proofs, any credible testimony. It was very possible for audacious men, who adopted the sentiments, to inspire the belief that they spoke by the authority of any public character; the true chief was mute, and invisible."—*Observations* appended to *Les Mémoires de François Scepeau, Sieur de Vieilleville, Collection Universelle des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France.*

Alarmed at his approach, the Cardinal desired Marechal de Vieilleville to induce the Baron to repair to Amboise to state his grievances, assuring him of safety, if he came unarmed, and attended but by few companions. Too well versed in courts to confide in the honour of such employers, the Marechal excused himself on the plea, that to such desperate men he could give no assurances of indemnity that would inspire confidence; and he submitted to the King, whether it would not be proper to devolve the office on a prince of the blood, who could alone be considered as a proper delegate of the sovereign.* In consequence of this suggestion, the commission was transferred to the Duke de Nemours, who having pledged to Castelnau the word of a prince for his safety, that officer, with fifteen of his companions, readily accepted the invitation; but no sooner had they reached the castle, than, instead of being conducted to the King's presence, they were consigned to separate cells, examined, and subjected to torture, to extract particular information of the conspiracy. Shocked at this breach of faith, the Duke de Nemours vehemently demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Both Catherine and Mary, the Duchess of Guise, and many great ladies of the court, united in supplications for mercy; but the Chancellor (by the Cardinal's command) replied, "That the King

* See Regnier de la Planche. *Les Mémoires de Castelnau.*—Garnier. *Mémoires de François Scepeau, Sieur de Vieilleville,* tom. iii.

kept no faith with rebels." And, to prevent future importunity, punishment was denounced against all who should appeal in behalf of the unfortunate prisoners.*

At his examination, Castelnau, instead of admitting anything to criminate the Prince de Condé, boldly reclaimed the promise by which he had been betrayed. The judges, feeling the force of his arguments, yet aware that his doom was sealed, shifted their ground by examining him respecting the tenets of his faith; to which, after some hesitation, he replied with characteristic openness and sincerity. The Chancellor Olivier, who had once been in the number of Castelnau's intimate friends, having inquired on what grounds he had changed his religion, the Duke of Guise, perceiving that he hesitated, exclaimed, "Speak, speak; you seem dumb with fear."—"Fear!" retorted the Baron, indignantly, "where is the man, however brave, environed as I am, by mortal enemies, without either nails or claws to protect himself from their vengeance, where is he who would not fear? Brave as you are, were you in my power as I am in yours, and if I bore to you the malice which you testify towards me, and all the King's good and loyal

* According to Vieilleville, the Duke de Nemours was chagrined, because he had given his signature. "As to his word," says the author, "he valued it little, since he would have killed on the spot any man who should have pretended that he had made the promise; but his signature he could not disown."

subjects, I doubt not, you too would have some consciousness of danger."

After this, regaining self-possession, he entered on the subject with such animation and energy, that the Chancellor, with real surprise, demanded in what school he had so soon learnt to become a theologian.

"And have you," retorted Castelnau, "lost all recollections of those happy hours I spent in your house at Leuville, once the sanctuary of honour, learning, and virtue, in which I visited you on my return from Flanders; and where, when you inquired with what studies I had beguiled the period of my captivity, I answered, in reading the Holy Scriptures? Do you not remember how cordially you applauded my pursuit; and how, after having heard me state certain doubts which still lingered in my mind, you exhorted me to frequent the religious assemblies at Paris, and to visit the reformed churches in Germany and Geneva? Did you not also express a wish, that all the French nobility resembled me in zeal and sentiment, inasmuch as I had chosen the right path? My Lord, is not this true?" The Chancellor, casting down his eyes, in silence, Castlenau continued; "How is it that a man so eminently endowed with talents and virtues, who has arrived at the highest honours of his profession, to whom the word of truth has been revealed, and who now totters on the last plank of life; how can it be, that such a man, for the

sake of a little momentary prolongation of power and splendour, can stoop to become the slave of yon proud Cardinal, at once betraying his conscience, his King, and his country?"

Here the Cardinal, perceiving the Chancellor's embarrassment, resumed the theological discussion, till, baffled by Castelnau's unpremeditated eloquence, he bade him remember, that as his brother was no theologian, it was not right to shock his faith. At these words, the Duke interposed, by saying, "That though he pretended not to be competent to polemical disquisitions, he perfectly knew how to strike off heretical heads." —"Would to God," replied Castelnau, "that you were as competent to discuss this subject as your brother, since I feel assured you would not, like him, do violence to your conscience. As to the menace of striking off a head, I hold it to be unworthy of a prince."

It is not improbable, but that the superiority which Castelnau evinced in the argument with Cardinal Lorrain accelerated his fate. On the day appointed for his execution, a scaffold was erected in front of a gallery prepared for the ladies, to whom, in the absence of other amusements, the exhibition of dying criminals had been rendered an interesting spectacle. In a court where humanity was identified with sedition, and honour stigmatized as rebellion, even the tenderness of the female sex was sacrificed to fanatical loyalty; and to have declined witnessing the death of a conspirator, would have

been construed into a tacit approbation of the conspiracy. The companions of Castelnau were first dragged to the place of execution; their dying struggles were calmly witnessed by their undaunted leader, but no sooner were their sufferings terminated, than dipping his hands in their blood, he raised them towards heaven, invoking vengeance on the authors of that cruel perfidy to which he and his brave comrades were equally to be sacrificed. During the action of Castelnau, there was a mournful silence, till a piercing female shriek drew the attention of the spectators to the gallery, from whence Anne of Este, pale and trembling, rushed forth; being followed by Catherine, who coolly inquired the cause of her affliction, "Have I not cause," she exclaimed, "to weep? and shall not the blood that has been shed this day be required of me and my children?" Nor was this princess the only individual who recoiled from the horrors of this day's spectacle; the Prince de Condé, who had been cruelly dragged to the spot, was observed to shudder, and by that involuntary movement of humanity furnished new grounds for suspicion to his accusers: but the person most deeply affected by the catastrophe was the Chancellor Olivier, who, loving Castelnau, and abhorring the injustice of which he was compelled to be the minister, in a sort of lethargic melancholy took to his bed, from which he never rose; and in his dying moments uttered the delirious exclamation, of "Accursed Cardinal! thou dost

prepare perdition for all our souls!"* It would have been pleasing to discover that Mary Stuart evinced such sensibilities as did honour to Anne of Este; and assuredly, in after life, she appeared not wanting in tenderness, but at this period the sympathies of her nature were checked by the constraint of her situation; nor should it be forgotten that her mind was corroded by cares in which no other woman participated.

By a singular coincidence, the commotions of Scotland were simultaneous with those of France; and during three succeeding months, the insurrections in Provence and Normandy seemed to correspond with the assembling of the congregational forces, the siege of Leith, the deposition of the Queen-mother from the regency (an event she survived but a few weeks), and the famous convention by whose authority the mass was finally abolished, and the worship of Calvin established in its place. On receiving the intelligence of her mother's dissolution, the young queen might have said with Macbeth, "*She should have died hereafter.*" The multiplied distractions of the state interdicted the indulgence of private sorrows; distrust and terror pervaded the court; perplexity and danger environed the throne; instead of weeping in her chamber, Mary had to attend her consort to the great national council holden at Fontainebleau, that celebrated assembly

* *Mémoires de Vieilleville*, tom. iii. *Observations sur les Mémoires de Castelnau.*

which concentrated the royalty, the talents, the patriotism of France, where Coligny presented the petition subscribed by 50,000 Hugonots,* for liberty of conscience, where two bishops† advocated the cause of toleration, and more extraordinary still, Cardinal Lorrain coalesced with Michael l'Hôpital, in voting for the convocation of the States-general.

What impression the representations of that body might have produced on Francis or Mary must be left to conjecture; but it is probable that the prejudices which the young monarch had imbibed against the Prince de Condé and the King of Navarre extended to the whole Calvinistic party, and that in suffering its ostensible chiefs, the King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé, to be inveigled to the States-general, he persuaded himself that he was merely defending his crown and his life against the machinations of his enemies.

Having determined to assume the command of his army, he deposited his brothers and sister in the Castle of Vincennes, and departed from St. Germains for Orleans, which he entered with military pomp, accompanied by Mary and Catherine; and whilst the mother fortified his courage, the wife betrayed

* The Calvinists were first called Hugonots, in allusion to a pretended ghost which was believed to haunt an old turret, called Hugo's Tower; and thus became the popular bugbear, with which mothers frightened their children.—Labourer.—Garnier.

† These were Monluc, Bishop of Valence, and Marillac, Bishop of Vienne, brother to the advocate of Anne Dubourg.

no feminine timidity. The arrival of the King of Navarre and his brother was the signal for their destruction. Like Castelnau, they had confided in promises of safety, and like him, the Prince was immediately arrested as a state-prisoner, on the charge of treason.

It appears incredible that any government, in a nation apparently civilized and enlightened, should have ventured on an act of perfidy worthy of an Algerine corsair; but whilst the pretended interests of religion sanctified the measure to one party, the safety of the state excused it to another; and the presence of veteran troops invested its authors with impunity. Of the actors in this drama, the King only appears to have been sincere; and it was with the persuasion of his kinsman's treason, that he turned sternly from the afflicted Princess de Condé, who had thrown herself at his feet to implore mercy for her husband, exclaiming, "He aimed at my life,—he sought my crown." From that moment the fate of Louis Bourbon seemed inevitable. No one presumed to speak in his favour; even the wary Marechal Vieilleville excited suspicion, by expressing his wonder, that the Prince, if he was conscious of guilt, should so readily surrender himself to the power of justice, but quickly perceiving his blunder, he advised the Cardinal to commit the Prince to the Bastille, disclaimed with indignation any intention of visiting him, and protested that,

if he were really criminal, he should vote for his death, even though he had been his own brother.

At this crisis, when his friends yielded to the most gloomy presages, the Prince alone displayed the magnanimity of a real hero. During the painful interval of suspense, that intervened from the commencement of the King's illness, when he expected to be sacrificed to the malice or pusillanimity of his enemies, no agitation could be detected in his looks or accents:* he preserved, unaltered, the serenity and gayety of his temper, as usual, exerted his various powers of pleasing, and continued to laugh, to sing, to rally, with his attendants. In this manner, he was engaged at chess, when his valet-de-chambre, in cautious language, intimated that the danger was over, since the King had breathed his last. Such a communication might have disturbed even stoical self-possession; yet the volatile,

* According to Regnier de la Planche, Du Thou, and other historians, the Duke and Cardinal would have persuaded Catherine to extort from the States-general an order for his execution, previous to her son's death; but that she was diverted from it by the Chancellor Michael l'Hôpital. In the mean while, the King of Navarre, who, though not formally arrested, was detained and suspected, was summoned to a private audience by Catherine, who stipulated with him for the surrender of his rights to supremacy in the council of regency, and on that condition indemnified his brother's safety. A reconciliation was then effected between the Guises and the King of Navarre. The Prince de Condé was, with reason, disgusted with his brother's complaisance.

impetuous Louis Bourbon, received it without changing countenance, and having made another move, won the game.

It was on the 11th of November that Francis, in assisting at vespers, fainted, and was hastily conveyed to his chamber. During his illness, which lasted seventeen days, the Guises devised a scheme for silently eradicating heresy, more likely to prove successful than the armies they had collected, the Inquisition they meant to re-establish, or even the sanguinary punishments they were about to enforce. This was no other than simply to require from every individual attached to the service of the Queen, the King, the princes, the nobles, and the gentry, a formal subscription to the Catholic faith. Already had many thousand signatures been affixed to this schedule, when the attention of the court was arrested by the catastrophe that hurried the young monarch to an untimely grave. Various and most dissonant were the emotions created by this event, in different inmates of the same mansion: to the King of Navarre it brought redemption from ruin; to the Prince de Condé it promised restoration to his wife, his children, his country; to Catherine, who by secret stipulation had secured to herself unlimited supremacy, it gave the dominion for which she had long panted in vain; to Cardinal Lorrain it announced disgrace; from the Duke of Guise it took not enough of power to revive the native generosity of his character; to Montmorency it recalled those dreams of ambition he had almost abandoned;

to the enlightened mind of Michael L'Hôpital it suggested the possibility of assuring salvation to France. In Andelot, in Coligny, and a small band of virtuous patriots, it inspired hopes, and held forth promises of political regeneration, never to be realized;—to Mary, alone, the blow was irreparable and fatal. At an earlier period, the dissolution of her union had been, comparatively, a blessing; but now, that by the mal-administration of the Guises, the ancient altars of Scotland were for ever overthrown, and a powerful party formed against the native sovereign; now, that the perfidy of her kinsmen had destroyed the confidence, and alienated the affections of two-thirds of her subjects; now that she had been raised too high, not to have attracted enemies, and was sunk too low, not to lose friends; at this awful crisis, what remained for a female Stuart, a daughter of Guise, a widowed queen, a devoted Papist, but peril, privation, calamity, or perhaps destruction?

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

PAGE 55. CHAP. II.

ACCORDING to La Noue, the youths who had been reared in the palaces of princes and nobles, were soon initiated into every species of dissipation, and not unfrequently became as adroit in picking pockets, as in cheating and deceiving their companions. The austere La Noue condemns also the practice of expatriating young gentlemen, under the pretence of sending them to travel. Nor does the system of tuition pursued in the universities escape his censure. "Among the many who spend in it their spring days," he remarks, "few gather any fruits from their immense labour. Parents are shocked to remark the contrast of scholastic habits with the elegant address and graceful carriage of the accomplished cavalier. Perplexed by the difficulty of selection, there are some gentlemen who educate their sons at home; an excellent plan for those who are sufficiently rich to secure to their children the society of juvenile companions. For those who are less favoured by fortune, there appears to be no alternative but to procure for their sons an introduction to some noble family in the capacity of pages, to whatever

objections that situation may be exposed." Finally, he recommends the establishment of academies or public schools in the principal towns of every province; but it should be recollected, that La Noue published not these remarks till after the fatal administration of Catherine de Medicis.—See *Discours Politiques et Militaires.*

PAGE 108. CHAP. III.

The learned Laboureur has inserted, page 347, vol. i., a copy of the original instructions given by Henry the Second, to the Reverend Doctor Orriz, who at that time exercised the functions of the Pope's Inquisitor in France, and who was despatched to Ferrara officially to remonstrate with the Duchess Renée on the perversion of her faith. In the first instance, the Inquisitor was to confer with the Duke, in order to ascertain in what points the Duchess seceded from the apostolical church. He was then to demand an interview with Renée, for the express purpose of reading to her a letter written with Henry's own hand, describing the "sorrow with which he had at length been apprised of her participation in those damnable and fallacious opinions, contrary to the holy faith of their religion; that this fatal news announced to him nothing less than the forfeiture of life, whether *bodily* or *spiritual*, to his only surviving aunt, whom he has always loved, esteemed, and revered; as in truth he is still disposed to do, inasmuch as to hear of her restoration to the bosom of the holy church would be to him no less the source of joy than to witness her resurrection from the grave. The King proceeded to remind her of the gratitude she owed to God for her illustrious descent from the most Christian princes of France, in which happy country no monster of heresy had ever received its birth. At the same time he apprised her, that if she persisted in obstinacy and disobedience, he should withdraw the friendship of a kinsman, and renounce the duty of a nephew towards her; holding in abhorrence those condemned sects of which he is the mortal enemy." In ano-

ther document, the King observes, "if, by gentle means, she should be found utterly irreclaimable, it will be proper for the Doctor Orriz to recommend to the Duke the adoption of rigorous measures to bring her back to reason; and it is suggested that the contumacious Duchess shall be separated from her husband and children, and domestic attendants; and if any of these should be suspected of participating in her error, they are to be examined and prosecuted by the Doctor Orriz, according to the rules of his holy profession." In conclusion, the King intimates, "though he has recommended the adoption of rigorous measures towards his aunt, yet he advises that they may be tempered by a certain modesty and propriety, so as to take away all occasion *for scandal or reproach.*"

Renée, who sustained this trial with characteristic firmness, was deprived of the privilege of superintending the education of her children, and for some time divested of royal splendour. After her husband's death, she returned to France, and died in 1575, at Montargis.

PAGE 127. CHAP. III.

In the memoirs of Vieilleville is a very entertaining account of the Marechale Motijan, his kinswoman, previous to her marriage with the Prince of Roche-sur-yon. At the period of his death, having accompanied her husband to Piedmont, she was left at Turin, and much perplexed in what manner to return to France; when John Lewis, Marquis of Saluces, allured by her dower still more than by her youth and beauty, offered her his protection, which was gladly accepted, and, under his escort, the fair widow and her retinue proceeded from Turin to Paris. The expenses of the journey were constantly defrayed by the Marquis, who, presuming on the lady's favour, often rallied her on her female suite, sixteen in number, some of whom he protested he should dismiss, as soon he became their master. Madame de Motijan smiled at these sallies, and the Marquis, not doubting that he was to be the future

husband, in the fulness of his joy, engaged at Lyons a band of musicians to dissipate her melancholy. During her stay in that city, the lady was apprised by letters from her kinsman, M. Vieilleville, that the Marquis de Saluces boasted of his conquest, and that the King, Francis the First, countenanced his pretensions. In reply the Marechale expressed aversion for the Marquis; although being without money, she had no alternative but to allow him to indulge his anticipations till she had accomplished her journey. In whatever town they tarried for the night, the Marquis provided a collation and concert for the lady's pleasure; a thousand courtesies passed between them, and as they approached Paris he flattered himself he should be permitted, as a privileged lover, to conduct her to her residence; but, to his infinite chagrin, the wily Marechale suddenly caused her company to halt between the gates of St. Marceau and St. Jacques, whilst she formally announced their immediate separation, observing, that honour forbade their residing under the same roof; that in eight days her Major-domo would discharge the pecuniary part of her debt; that in other respects her obligations were eternal; though separated, she left her heart in his keeping; and, as a mark of friendship and respect, she volunteered a parting kiss. No sooner had the Marechale reached her own house, than M. de Vieilleville presented to her the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, whom he urged her to espouse, as the best mode in which she could punish the presumption of the indignant Marquis; but that nobleman was not easily discouraged. Fortified by the King's favour, and incensed to find that he had an illustrious rival, he had recourse to a legal advocate, with whose assistance he fabricated a voluminous charge against the ambitious widow, which was presented to the parliament of Paris, and the fair culprit was in consequence summoned to appear before that tribunal. At the appointed day, to the surprise of the President, there was a sudden apparition of beauty and splendour within the Temple of Themis;

the Marechale, attended by a train of ladies, single and married, all richly dressed, and escorted by a gallant troop of cavaliers, among whom the brave general Vieilleville was eminently conspicuous, answered in person to the citation. The President having asked whether she had not given a promise of marriage to the Marquis de Saluces, the clerk proceeded to repeat the question, holding up his hand, as about to adjure the party to speak the truth. "Gentlemen," interrupted the Marechale, "I have never before had to speak in such a presence; you must therefore pardon me if my frank manner should ill agree with your technical subtleties. To cut the matter short, I take God and the King to witness; I adjure my Maker by all my hopes of salvation; I obtest my Sovereign, on the pain of forfeiting life, honour, and all my worldly goods; by all that men hold dear and sacred; I swear I never, in any manner, pledged my word to the Marquis de Saluces. If any there be who shall affirm the contrary, behold my champion," taking Vieilleville by the hand; "this is my knight, who, with his good sword, shall maintain my word to be that of a true and honourable woman, trusting in God that he shall prove my accuser to be, saving your presence, an infamous liar." Her appeal was enforced by the martial aspect of her conductor; and the President, perceiving by the looks of the Marquis, how little he was disposed to accept the challenge, exclaimed, "What a change is here! Clerk, you may withdraw your regreas; pen and ink are out of the question. Madame la Marechale takes a shorter course. What have you to say, my Lord Marquis?" That august personage, who had turned pale at the sight of Vieilleville's sword, now replied in a very plaintive tone, "That he would not have a woman by force," and, with a low bow, quitted the court. "Bravo!" cried the President to the Sieur de Vieilleville. "He had actually filled forty sheets with the charges to be exhibited against Madame la Marechale; even the kiss of courtesy, given at the Porte St. Marceau, being among them; but the lady's

intrepidity has baffled his calculation." "Well," returned M. de Vieilleville, who, like Montmorency, cherished Cisalpine prejudices, "for once, then, a French lady has outwitted an Italian signor."—*Memoires de la Vie de François Scepeaux, Sieur de Vieilleville*, 1 *tome*.

PAGE 171. CHAP. IV.

By the following letters, printed in the Life of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, from the MSS. de Bethune, it appears that the most cordial intimacy subsisted between Mary, Queen Dowager of Scotland, and Anne of Este.

Original Letter in the handwriting of Mary, Queen Dowager of Scotland, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the "Duchesse de Guise," her sister-in-law. (King's Library, at Paris, Bethune Collection, No. 9126, fol. 26.)

"Madame ma seur, jé reseu la lectre, que m'avés escry par Usquin, et esy par yselle jé reseu l'eze de connettre le commansemant de la santé de ma fille, je sui antrée an pene de connetre le voiage de monsieur mon frere; toutefois, ma seur, y se fot remetre à la voulonté de Dieu et le seuplier luy estre an ayde et metre toute notre esperanse audit Seigneur, car selle que l'on a au monde n'et que vanité et tronperie. Je vous prie ne vous fere tort et bien trété a son abesanse la petite créature qu y vous a lésé, et j'espere que le bon Dieu nous le ramenera à notre contanteman; vous aseuran que sy mé prière, et selle que feré fere, luy peult servy, que je ne m'y etpargneré. Je panses bien, sy sete facheuse heure ne fut veneue, que j'arois se bien de vous voir biento, et, au lieu, jé grant peur, que, sy on contineue, que nous en arons tretons notre part, y fot louer Dieu de tout, vous priant me fere souvan par de vos nouvelle, car vous ne les adreseré au lieu, là où elle soit mieux veneue, ne quy de mileur ceur s'anpliat à toute chose que connetré vous ettre plaisy. Me recommandant humblemant à votre bonne grace, seuplie

le Créateur vous donne très bonne et longue vie. De Lilebour, se trésieme de Janvier (1558—1561.)

"Votre humble et benne seur,

"MARIE (36)."

(On the back:) "A Madame ma Seur, Madame la Duchesse de Guise."

(Seal:) In red-wax, effaced.

Original Letter in the handwriting of Mary, Queen Dowager of Scotland, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the "Duchesse de Guise," (wife to François de Lorraine, second Duc de Guise), her sister-in-law. (King's Library, at Paris, Bethune Collection, No. 9126, fol. 14.)

"Ma seur, je ne vouleu se porteur fut party, sans vous fere se mot, pour vous prye vous souvenir de moy, et me fere souvent part de vos nouvelle, et sy avés point recommansé à me fere des enfans davantage. Je croy ne serés marie les tiens pour miens. Quant à vous fere part de toute mes nouvelles, j'écris acuplement à messieurs mes freres qui vous an feron partisipants; Qui me fera fere fin; priant notre Seigneur vous donner autant d'eur et de contantemant que vous desire. De Lisleboure, le xvij. de Desanbre (1558—1561). "Votre humble et bonne seur,

"MARIE."

(Direction:) None. The cover does not remain.

(No seal.)

PAGE 171. CHAP. IV.

Mary's manners were early formed to the standard of courteous dignity. In 1555, when the English ambassadors visited Fontainebleau, they were introduced to the young Queen of Scots in Catherine's apartment: some of their company having afterwards expressed dissatisfaction because they too enjoyed not the like privilege, Mary admitted them to a visit in her own apartment, and courteously addressed them as her countrymen.—See Hardwick's State Papers

PAGE 172. CHAP. IV.

For one of their favourite pastimes the French nobility were indebted to the embassy of Mareschal St. André to England, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, when, as we learn from Vieilleville, instead of a tourney, the English court regaled him with the novel spectacle of dogs contending with bears and bulls. In the sequel the Mareschal transported a dozen bull-dogs to France, where they found such favour with Henry and his court, as to form a part of every great lord's rural establishment: these animals appear to have been fondly cherished till the civil wars, when the pastime for which they were introduced was discontinued.

PAGE 175. CHAP. IV.

The practice of keeping fools was universal in France, England, and Germany. A predecessor of Thony, one Briandas, innocently caused a quarrel between Francis the First and the Dauphin, Henry the Second, by apprising him that his son had in jest disposed of all the offices of state in favour of his companions. "Here, Francis of Valois, you are no longer king; and if you don't take care, you will be whipt by order of the Constable Montmorency; and you, Turin, are no longer chamberlain, but Brissac." Luckily for M. de Vieilleville, Henry had left him without a place; an omission for which Francis ever after treated him with particular marks of favour. In the year 1555, Brusquet, another fool, accompanied Admiral Coligny in his visit to Charles the Fifth, who had just abdicated the throne, and with great freedom rallied the Ex-Emperor on his gouty fingers. But perhaps the most sagacious jester of France was Triboulet, who, in the year 1525, when Francis the First was about to commence his unlucky campaign in Italy, having listened very attentively to a conversation which turned on the best way of getting into Italy,

exclaimed, "Gentlemen, you have all missed the essential part of the subject, which is, to devise by what means your troops shall get out of it." One day, when Triboulet had been threatened with the bastinado, the King bid him not fear, as, whoever killed him, should be hanged a quarter of an hour after. The jester exclaimed, "An please your Majesty, I would rather he should be hanged a quarter of an hour before."

PAGE 175. CHAP. IV.

In the first vol. of Vieilleville, we have an account of the Marechal St. André's embassy to Edward the Sixth, in 1550, which presents a striking contrast to the magnificent reception of the English ambassador in France. Unluckily the French suite landed at Rye instead of Dover; only eighty horses could be procured for their numerous suite; many noblemen were therefore glad to take a seat in a wagon drawn by oxen, and there were cavaliers dressed in satin and velvet, who were forced to make their way on foot. M. de Vieilleville perceiving in this mournful plight the Count Montgommery, charged his son-in-law, M. D'Epinay, to give him a seat behind him on the crupper. Having reached the Chancellor's in Westminster, they were all accommodated with horses, and overwhelmed with civilities. But the Marechal had been instructed by his court not to accept the hospitality of the English Government; and, when provisions were offered, they were immediately returned with thanks. This restriction originated in policy, but appears to have been highly acceptable to the gentlemen of his suite, who rejected English viands with abhorrence; according to another statement, nothing was to be seen in London but geese and swans; whilst the French were daily supplied from Paris with the most delicious game, and choice fruits. *So that* (says Carloix) *these English milords cursed* their wretched climate, which denied them such rarities. It was stipulated by the Chancellor, that mass should not be celebrated in

public, and with this restriction the Marechal cheerfully complied. At Windsor Castle the young King received the strangers with the most winning politeness, and by his personal beauty, elegance, and surprising intelligence, enchanted all who approached him. At parting, his fine countenance assumed an expression of sorrow highly flattering to his guests, some of whom predicted his untimely fate, declaring that he was too angelic to remain in this world.—*Memoires de François Scepeaux, Sieur de Vieilleville, composée par S. Carloix.*

PAGE 258. CHAP. V.

According to the Memoirs of Vieilleville, several French noblemen attempted to dissuade Henry the Second from intruding on the parliament, to which he was instigated by Cardinal Lorrain.

PAGE 262. CHAP. V.

In the Memoirs of Amelot d'Aussaye, the person of Elizabeth is thus described: Though little, she was beautiful; her face round, her eyes lively and sparkling, a delicate complexion, and jet black hair; her mental endowments were still superior; and yet it was her misfortune to be suspected by her husband, who would not believe that the daughter of Henry the Second and Catherine de Medicis could have learnt to sacrifice inclination to duty. She expired in October, 1568, two years after the decease of Don Carlos. It should be remarked, that the foregoing description little corresponds with the portraits which exist of the unfortunate Elizabeth.

PAGE 264. CHAP. V.

It is pretended by Brantome, that Madame Margaret had been impressed with partial sentiments for Philibert, Duke of Savoy, many years before statesmen digested the plan of their union, and that it was partly for his sake she rejected the Duke de Vendome, afterwards king of Navarre. Political reasons were not wanting to this

marriage, which furnished a commodious pretext for relinquishing the pretensions of France on Savoy. To this circumstance Margaret herself alluded in composing the device of two serpents entwined around an olive branch.

PAGE 265. CHAP. V.

That the pretensions of Mary to the crown of England were popularly acknowledged at the court of France, appears from the following Sonnet, by Joachim du Bellay.

Sonnet à la Royne d'Ecosse.

Ce n'est sans propos qu'en vous le ciel a mis
Tant de bouté d'esprit, de beauté de face,
Tant de royal honneur et de royale grace,
Et que plus que cela, vous est encor promis.
Ce n'est pas sans propos, que les destins amis,
Pour abaisser l'orgueil, del Espagnole audace,
Soit par droit d'alliance, ou soit par droit de race,
Vous ont, par leurs arrêts, trois grands peuples soumis.
Ils veulent que par vous, la France et l'Angleterre
Changent en longue paix l'hereditaire guerre
Qui a, de pere en fils, si longuement duré;
Ils veulent que par vous, la belle vierge astre
En ce siecle de fer reface, encor entre,
Et qu'on revoye encor le beau siecle doré.

1559.

PAGE 268. CHAP. V.

The confidence which Catherine de Medicis reposed in astrological predictions, has been noticed by all contemporary historians. In his tragedy of Francis the Second, the president Henault has introduced an astrologer of less notorious reputation than Cardan, from whom Catherine attempts to ascertain the future destiny of her children.

ACT II. SCENE IV.

THE QUEEN AND LUKE GAURIC.

Catherine. (Bursting into tears.) Ha! it is you, my dear Luke Gauric.

Gauric. (Aside.) Ill-omened journey; ill-fated, unhappy race!

Catherine. Your presages were but too just. Here then is the explanation of that singular duel which you predicted, but of which the prediction was deemed preposterous. Alas! not even I divined that the calamity was so fast approaching, when I urged you to leave Italy for our court; and you may well conceive how necessary you are become to my tranquillity, now that I have learned, by fatal experience, to repose implicit trust in your intelligence.

Gauric. As little did I myself anticipate the impending event, when I commenced my pilgrimage; but no sooner had I reached Lyons than I would fain have arrested my steps.

Catherine. You have then foreseen our fate?

Gauric. Ah! madam, would to heaven I had discerned nothing.

Catherine. At length my dear Gauric, I possess you. Friendship has impelled you to surmount the fatigues of a journey, at your age, not less perilous than painful; and you still remember how dear you were to me before I quitted Florence.

Gauric. Yes, madam, it was there I beheld with transport the presages of your future greatness.

Catherine. From that moment we have never met. Yet I know that you have seen my children, and examined each with scrupulous attention; but before we speak of them let me describe my present position.

Gauric. That task has been already performed by Madame de Montpensier.

Catherine. You behold then the court,—and for its chief a boy whose majority is recognised by the institutions of France, but dis-

avowed by the laws of nature; you discover a regency without the title;—princes of the blood reclaiming their rights on the plea of seeking the public good. My lords of Guise, attached to the King rather than to me, or rather to their own ambition, and perhaps grasping exclusively at the empire, which has been yielded to their possession.

Gauric. All this I know.

Catherine. What part to choose among so many pretenders, amidst so many rocks, and what safe course am I to steer?

Gauric. Your part is already taken; you have espoused the interests of the house of Guise.

Catherine. What other choice remained for me?

Gauric. I know not.

Catherine. Yet, in such perplexed circumstances, who better than you could direct my steps?

Gauric. Who, I, madam!

Catherine. Without doubt, your wisdom, your knowledge, your art——

Gauric. Ah, madam! there are limits to my art; my knowledge lies within narrow bounds. Do you imagine the Deity allows the book of fate to be fully opened to our view? It is true his providence permits me to foresee certain marked and extraordinary events; but, even of these I but steal an imperfect glimpse, obscured by surrounding clouds: by the conditions of human life, we all are subjected to an inevitable destiny; our career is traced from eternity; yet such is the constitution of our nature, that we blindly, though voluntarily, accomplish that which having been pre-ordained is wholly independent of human will. It is for the impostor who sports with the credulity of mankind, to decide with arrogant presumption on that of which all are in reality equally ignorant; for me, madam, who in the exercise of this art deplore before God that fatal and too often pernicious gift which has never ceased to trouble

and embitter my existence, and which (such is the constitution of human things) serves only to double the consciousness of evil,—for me it is enough that I assure you my researches can never answer one useful purpose, and that whether men remain in total or partial darkness of future events, they are equally the sport of inexorable destiny.

Catherine. But that conspiracy against the Duke of Parma, in which he lost his life, was surely by you predicted, even to the most minute circumstances, each of which was strictly verified.

Gauric. Yes, the pope Paul the Third, his father, to whom I was personally attached, exacted from my friendship that I should draw the horoscope of his son: his wishes were obeyed. When I declared that a conspiracy should be formed against the prince, he demanded the names of the conspirators; there too my answer was ready, that he would find the initial of each name on the current coin.

Catherine. What more could be required?

Gauric. What availed the prediction? The names of the conspirators were not discovered till the prince had become their victim; I understood not that which I had unconsciously uttered, and knew not the assassins I had mechanically designated.*

Catherine. But you foresaw my husband's death?

Gauric. It is true.

Catherine. In one word, if you decline speaking of myself, pass at once to my children, the first and dearest objects of my solicitude; seldom has any princess been blessed with a more numerous progeny. Heaven has given to me four sons and three daughters, and by your oracular intimations respecting future events, you may essentially aid me in directing their present course.

Gauric. Alas! what would you that I say?

Catherine. The king, my son—

* These letters were P—L—A—C—, for Placenza, and formed the initials of I allavicene, L ando, A nquisciola, and C onfalonieri.—Henault.

Gauric. It requires but the eye of the physician to know that his days are numbered.

Catherine. But have you not explored further?

Gauric. (Hesitating.) What shall I say?

Catherine. Gauric, you hesitate.

Gauric. (Shuddering.) Madam!

Catherine. I conjure you, speak.

Gauric. Well then, you have four sons; all shall be crowned.*

Catherine. What, must all die so young? Shall my children succeed each other?

Gauric. That is more than I dare answer; but never did light and darkness so struggle for pre-eminence; never was prosperity so wedded to calamity. Not stars but comets have presided at their birth. Glory is here linked with disgrace. Some of these shall twice receive the sceptre: they are kings, but where are their subjects? In contemplating this awful phasis I have been arrested by the loud-pealed thunder, and the furious tempest. Sometimes heaven has appeared to me one immense desert; sometimes filled with all the powers of air. I have seen one son shun a glittering diadem† to grasp an iron sceptre—escape from a faithful people to the arms of seditious subjects. What dost thou, ill-fated prince? The assassin may well be distrustful. What monster of hypocrisy do I behold? Ah, strike! 'tis achieved;—he is no more.

* Francis the Second, Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third, ascended the throne of France; their younger brother, the Duke of Alençon, was also crowned, as Duke of Brabant and Earl of Flanders.

† Henry the Third renounced the crown of Poland to be king of France. It was the same Prince who had caused Henry Duke of Guise to be assassinated at Blois, and who himself perished by the hands of the fanatical Jaques Clement. Of the princes and nobles who flourished under Henry the Second, scarcely one died a natural death. (The King of Navarre fell, in 1562, at the siege of Rouen; the Duke of Guise was killed by Poltrot, in 1563; the Constable Montmorency was mortally wounded, in 1567; the Prince de Condé was killed in cold blood in 1569; and the illustrious Admiral Coligny, in 1579.)

Catherine. What has France done? what have I done? Finish, Gauric; strike to my heart. Yet say, are the sisters reserved for equal misery?

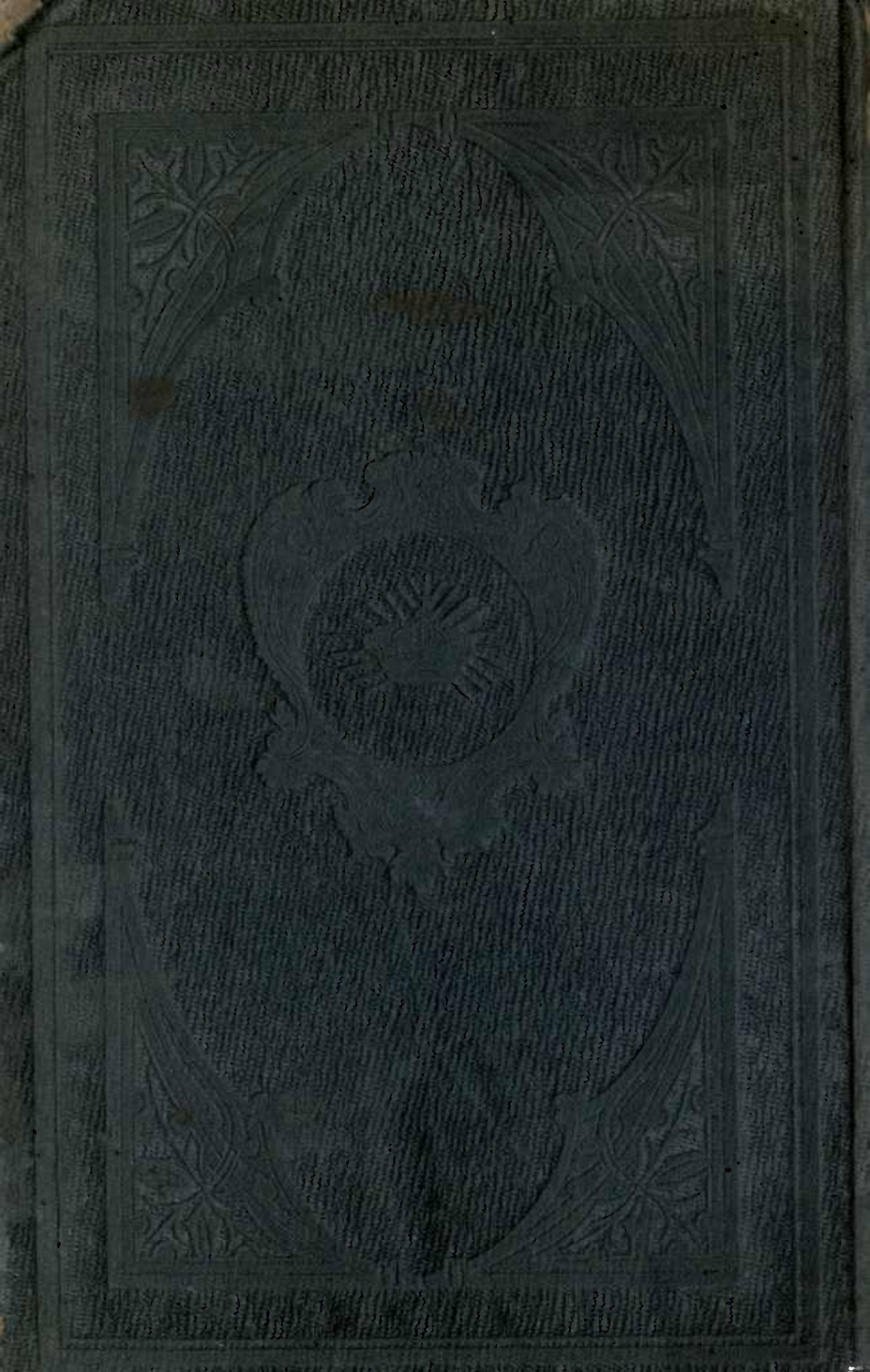
Gauric. The fate of Elizabeth alone is clearly revealed; untimely shall be her end; yet in her brief career, she shall have caused a son to perish by his father's hand. For Claude, happily, life offers little.

Catherine. And, my best-beloved Margaret, ——.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

DA
787
A1B4
1852
v.1

Benger, Elizabeth Ogilvy
Memoirs of the life of
Mary Queen of Scots

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY